THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN ARMED CONFLICT: A CASE STUDY OF CATTLE RUSTLING IN TURKANA, 2005-2010

M.A. PROJECT REPORT
BY

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DECLARATION

This project report is my original work and has not been submitted to any other University.

MARTIN NJUGUNA GITHU   DATE
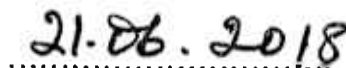

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University
Supervisor:

Professor G. Muriuki   Date

DEDICATION

This research project is a dedication to my son, Alpha Githu, and my wife, Charity Njuguna and most importantly my late mother, Mary Githu, who wished to see the project completed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

UNHCR............................. United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UN...................................United Nations

GSU................................. General Service Unit (of the Kenya Police Service)

KENGEN...........................Kenya Electricity Generating Company

NGO................................. Non-Governmental Organization

KPR.................................. Kenya Police Reservist

SPLA................................Sudanese People's Liberation Army

IDPs.................................Internally Displaced Persons

ICWPP.............................International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace

LRA.................................. Lord's Resistance Army

SPLF................................Sudan People Liberation Front

FRELIMO.......................... Mozambique Liberation Front

TPLF................................Tigrian People Liberation Front

PTSD................................Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

SGBV...............................Sexual and Gender Based Violence

RENAMO..........................Mozambique National Resistance

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ABSTRACT

Many pastoralist communities around the globe are experiencing conflicts. This study was undertaken in the Turkana region, Kenya where armed conflicts have been persistent for generations. Although studies have been carried out on armed conflict, the role of women, who play a major role in these conflicts is still ignored and vaguely understood. The present study looked into the role of women in Turkana persistent armed conflict with her neighbours, the Marakwet, Pokot and even Karamojong of Uganda.

Turkana is strategically positioned on the north-western Kenyan border, with Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda. The area is subject to unrest as it occupies an area between the largely uninhabitable ground to the east and neighbours who are unfriendly to the north and west. It has the highest number of displaced persons due to cattle-related conflicts in Kenya.

Being a pastoral community with strong cultural and traditional values, it exhibits a strong cultural orientation of armed conflict in which raids are one of their accepted traditional ways of acquiring livestock in the community. Pastoralism is their main source of livelihood. However, their stocks are often depleted by prolonged droughts and un-sustainable grazing methods such as overstocking.

The role of women in these conflicts is hardly contextualized and has been ignored, and hence the need for this study. The study shows that Turkana women in their absence participated in conflict. Most times, their men leave in search of pasture and new places to raid and in their absence, women have to provide and moreover, protect themselves and the livestock left behind. There is a high toll of raids due to its geographical position, little or no policing and a high rate of illicit arms influx.

This study sought to prove that resource scarcity, among other factors, is a major cause of conflict in Turkana. The respondents indicated that cattle rustling is an acceptable way of initiation and a means of wealth gaining. They are actively engaged in armed conflict in the Turkana region, in that they are aware of the conflict and actually support it by playing key roles in the propagation of that conflict. They aid in collection of intelligence, hide, carry and transport weapons and ammunition.

Finally, the study sought to answer the question whether women indeed are instrumental in peace building among the Turkana people. It looked into their peace building drives through non-governmental organization players, as well as in their own traditional mechanisms of solving disputes.

The study used descriptive study design, mainly qualitative research method. It also used in-depth interviews and randomly selected and knowledgeable focus group discussions techniques in collecting primary data. The study relied on secondary data from the university library and Kenya National Archives as well as the internet.

As part of the recommendation, the study proposes active involvement of women in peace keeping and peace building in these regions. This will likely bring an end to the conflict as it will take an all-inclusive approach in conflict resolution.

Also, the Kenyan and Ugandan governments should adopt a regional approach to effectively address the small arms and light weapons problems in the region. The government of Kenya together with NGOs, CBOs and FBOs should also expand educational facilities in these two regions, as well as sensitize the two communities on the effects of conflict on development. The two communities should use the traditional strategies that conform to their belief systems and practices that can be used to mitigate the prevailing conflicts, these could include holding traditional and cultural activities aimed at fostering peace together.

In carrying out the research, the researcher found out that more studies needed to be undertaken to augment modern day peace keeping efforts.

MAP OF TURKANA AND ITS BORDERING REGIONS.
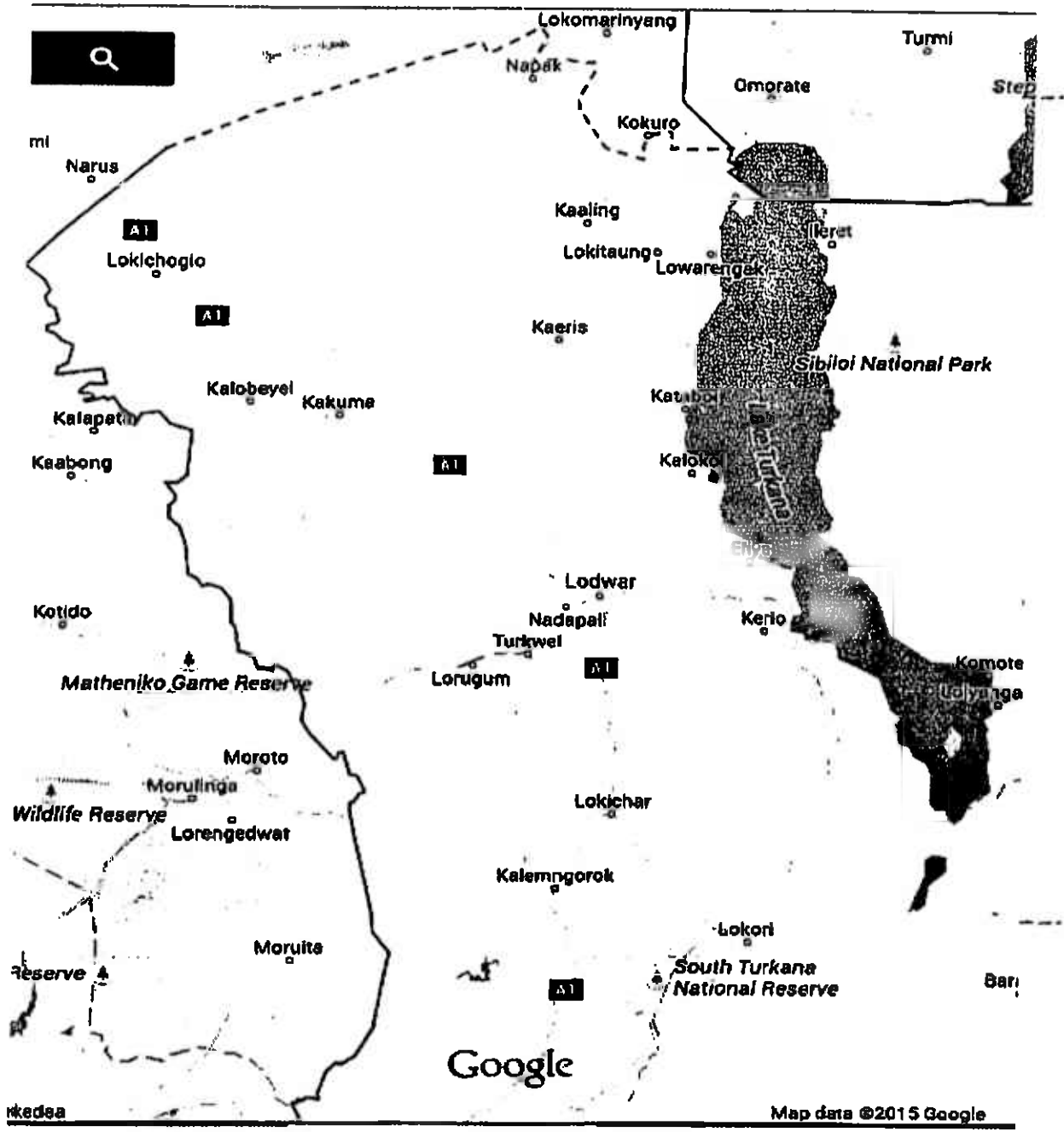
Source: Google Maps

Scale: Map not drawn to scale

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Turkana is located in north-western Kenya. It used to be a single district, however, it was split into three by 2007, to Turkana Central District, Turkana North District and Turkana South District. They form three of the 47 districts of the Rift Valley Province. Turkana has a land area of 71,599 km². The inhabitants size in the year 2009 was 855,399. Turkana region experiences high temperatures especially in January and September. The rainfall in the region is largely erratic and cannot be relied upon for agricultural activities. Both long and short rains collectively span over four months in a year.[1]

Demographically, Turkana County has a high inhabitants of children, where 46% of the total population is children of age between 0 and 14 years. This is as a result of high fertility rates among women as indicated by the large population of family sizes of more than 7 members at 59%. A total of 15% of Turkana County residents have only a primary school level of education. Turkana Central constituency has the highest share of residents with only a primary level of education at 26%. This is four times Loima constituency, which has the lowest share of residents with only a primary level of education. Turkana Central constituency is 11 percentage points above the county average. Lobokat ward has the highest share of residents with only a primary level of education at 46%[2]. In Turkana County, only 3% of the residents with no formal education are working for pay, 10% of those with primary level of education and 29% of those with secondary level of education or above. Comparatively work for pay is highest in Nairobi at 49% and this is 20 percent above the level in Turkana for those with secondary or above level of education. The literacy levels around this region are about seventeen per cent, with at least thirty four per cent of this population going to primary school.[3] Marriage is predominantly polygamous and therefore women empowerment is an important issue for survival of the family. Poverty levels are among the highest in the world, with about 94% of the residents living below the poverty line.

Geographically, the Turkana area and its environs present a good recipe for war. Bevan posits that there are many factors which contribute to the rampant violent conflicts among

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[1]Mkutu, Kennedy Agade. "Small arms and light weapons among pastoral groups in the Kenya–Uganda border area." *African Affairs* 106.422 (2007): 47-70.
[2]Bourton Jean,*Turkana Through The Lens Of Complexity*, final report by GBoxfam,Oxfam,Kenya,2012
[3]Bourton, op.cit .

pastoralists[4].The sources of skirmish among the pastoral groups in northern parts of the rift valley are complex. The large population and scarce resources has been majorly contributed to the conflict. Insecurity in Turkana ranges from cattle rustling to revenge killings of innocent people. Marginalisation by colonial and independent successive governments, among other conditions has led to severe under-development in the region. It is therefore vital to try and comprehend the role played by women in fuelling or resolving these conflicts. Other main sources of conflict include resources scarcity, traditions and cultural activities. The growing conflict has been heightened by the government's seeming reluctance in improving security in the vast region. Thus, raids are seen as revenge attacks and are always justified as such. "We are returning what was taken from us" is usually enough justification for those who engage in cattle rustling in the region. In addition, Guyo observes that cultural orientations among pastoral communities also play a part in enhancing the raids. These practices have become increasingly more and more destructive to the lives of the local societies.[5]

Women play a significant role in peace building amongst many societies. Previously women have been associated with peacemaking and peace building[6]. According to Marline the involvement of women in war-peace was pioneered in the US and Europe and was reported as early as 1915 through the protests against the First World War by the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, (hereafter ICWPP). Although African women have been reported to participate in war before this period, the study of women involvement in armed conflict is still not sufficiently covered. To contextualize the role of women in war, it is important to understand the genesis of war in northern part of Kenya especially, Turkana and her neighbours.[7] According to Mburu since the Second World War, Turkana residents have been involved in raids using weapons and skills acquired during their participation as soldiers in the Burma conflict during the colonial era. After the war, the men trooped back to their normal way of life with a new and advanced skill in armed warfare, passing the skill down new age sets. This has therefore created a more apt group of skilled and better armed raiders, often causing untold devastation on the raided communities.

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[4] Bevan, James. *Blowback: Kenya's Illicit Ammunition Problem in Turkana North District.* Small Arms Survey, 2008.

[5] Pkalya, Ruto, Mohamud Adan, and Isabella Masinde. "Conflict in Northern Kenya: A focus on the internally-displaced conflict victims in Northern Kenya." *ITDG. Of* 251 (2003).

[6] Mburu, Nene. "Firearms and Political Power: The Military Decline of the Turkana of Kenya." *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 10.2 (2001): 148-162.

[7] Nzomo, Maria. "Kenyan women in politics and public decision making." *African feminism: The politics of survival in sub-Saharan Africa* (1997): 232-254.

Some conflicts within and between pastoralist communities, such as cattle rustling, have a long history. They have to some extent become an aspect of people's way of life or culture[8]. Bevan argues that the influx of refugees from neighbouring countries has also greatly contributed to numerous conflicts. These new conflicts have become very destructive among pastoralist communities .He concludes that the major causes of conflicts among the pastoralists include the intensified action of cattle rustling, proliferation of illicit arms, inadequate policing and state security arrangements, diminishing roles of traditional governance systems, competition over control of and access to natural resources, such as pasture and water, land shortage, political incitement, ethnocentrism, increasing levels of poverty and idleness amongst the youth[9].

In Kenya, conflicts have claimed many lives in the period 2005 to 2010.This can be attributed to importation and supply of small arms from the unstable neighbouring countries, among them northern Uganda, Ethiopia and South Sudan. Moreover, in circumstances of armed conflict and raids, more and more sophisticated weapons are being used by the pastoralist communities. Korir suggests that it is estimated by the local administration that almost every household in Turkana district owns a gun. He further states that whereas the government issued Kenya police reservists with semi-automatic rifles for protection, the community now has new models of weapons which are fully automatic(AK47, M16,G3,SLR,as well as M4 rifles)[10].Consequently, the death tolls associated with the raids have been on the rise. Cattle rustling in Turkana is one of the sources of conflict in this region. In the olden days, women did not have a role to play in cattle rustling; they were left home to take care of children.

Bevan notes that the history of cattle rustling in northern Kenya in general, dates back as early as 1855[11]. Bows and arrows were the preferred weapons in some raids while other communities preferred the use of spears and shields to face their enemies during raids. At the time, the pastoral communities of northern Kenya were not restricted to the present national boundaries that were later introduced by the colonial administrations. Members of different communities knew their areas of control. Bevan continues to argue that while the raids used to be culturally

[8] Mburu, Nene. "The Proliferation of Guns and Rustling in Karamoja and Turkana Districts: The case for appropriate disarmament strategies." *Journal of Peace, Conflict and Development* 2.2 (2002): 10.
[9] Bevan, James. *Blowback: Kenya's Illicit Ammunition Problem in Turkana North District*. Small Arms Survey, 2008.

[10] Korir, M., "Women in Armed Conflict in Africa, "unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2010.
[11] Bevan, James, op.cit.

accepted among the communities, their impact as far as loss of human life was concerned was minimal. In the 1960's some members among the Turkana community, began to use guns as weapons of security in their surroundings. The availability of illicit arms and ammunitions exacerbated by new and porous borders and the resulting unchecked influx of weaponry from neighbouring states was a huge contributor to the continuous conflict in Turkana. Bevan further argues that the illicit arms trade was propelled by Kenya's Turkana community proximate neighbours, notably Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia and to a certain extent Uganda. This enabled the community to engage in organised armed raids against her neighbours, such as the Karamojong in Uganda, Pokot and Samburu in Kenya.

The Turkana community, unlike many indigenous Kenyan African societies, had no age sets based on initiation ceremonies and rites of passage. Their age sets were based on fixed generations. More often than not, these age sets were required to carry out some raids, as a show of their might. In addition, duties of protection of the community as well as its properties mostly in the form of cattle, rested on these age sets which had definite control and command structures. The Pokot, for instance, had the best initiate selected as the leader of the age set based on courage and discipline. The lack of proper initiation in the Turkana community meant that there was no cohesion in the upcoming morans. Korir argues that sometimes it is possible to have a small group of people engaging in a raid without the knowledge of the rest of the community in Turkana. This seeming lack of unity has left the community susceptible to external attacks with no coordinated response[12].

Turkana land experiences drought. At such times, women remain behind near their makeshift structures after the men have moved out in search of pastures. They have to identify edible wild fruits, some of which require long hours of boiling in preparation so as to reduce their toxicity levels. In the absence of men, women learn to be independent even in the physical protection of the entire household. They protect the animals left behind from adversaries in the absence of men.

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[12] Korir, M., op.cit.

Anyona argues that conflict offers an opportunity for women. It acts as an arena to shatter definitions of boundaries and gender roles for both men and women.[13] This point is illustrated by Donna Pankhurst who shows the role of women as peace-builders in that they may attempt to prevent a return to violence through various avenues. For instance, women organize themselves into women groups and often run workshops that require members of opposing parties to work together. They, therefore, can create a forum for cooperation. Further, women's organization and individual women are more suited to meeting with the enemy without arousing suspicion and also help in fostering trust which can be sustained even when tension arises or peace talks stall. According to Muchai, incidences of cattle rustling have led to severe loss of human lives, as well as livelihoods. Yet there has been minimal achievement from the government's efforts to stem the problem[14]. The perception of women participation in conflict is minimal, subsequently being perceived as trustworthy parties.

Pankhurst concludes that women are best suited to undertake peace initiatives on behalf of their communities, rather than for personal gain. This perception of neutrality and willingness to engage with both sides enables women to monitor warring factions on the ground and to engage them in meaningful dialogue, helping to reduce fears and uncertainty[15].

1.2 Statement of the problem

Cattle rustling in the northern part of Kenya's rift valley has received considerable attention from the media and academicians. This is largely due to the large number of loss of lives attributed to these raids.

Most scholars however have given the role of women in these conflict little attention. This is more so in those conflicts that are considered cultural, such as cattle rustling. This is despite the fact that the women are part of the community that engages in the conflict. A majority of the works on women have presented them as victims of these conflicts, vulnerable and at the mercy of the raiding parties.

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[13]Anyona, R.M., "Conflicts in Kenya, A Case of Northern Kenya", Unpublished MA Thesis (Unpublished), University of Nairobi, 2010.
[14]Muchai, Augusta, "Insecurity: A Case Study of Northern Kenya," Security When the State Fails, Community Response to Armed Violence. Civil Society Acting on Community Security. Unifem Nairobi 2005.
[15]Pankhurst, Donna, ed. Gendered Peace: Women's Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation. Routledge, 2012.

Initially considered as a cultural activity and acceptable practice among pastoral communities of Pokot, Turkana, Toposa, Merille and others, the raids are becoming bloodier with the introduction of modern, sophisticated and light weapons. These raids are now considered "armed conflicts".

The period between 2005 and 2010 witnessed an increased number of raids resulting to an increased loss of life. The attacks during this period have seen politicians being drawn in as they shield their communities from the rule of law and some have been implicated in the supply of ammunition to their clansmen.

While the study focused on 2005 to 2010 more recent raids and open confrontations bring the 2013 killing of 47 police officers and reservists tracking stolen animals in Suguta valley to mind. Wapudi *et.al* give an account of raids indicating that in 1997, 50 Turkana people were killed by a combined raid of the Pokot and Tepe raiders from Uganda.

In 1999, Pokot gunmen attacked Turkana east and killed 30 people, while making away with their herds of cattle. In 2000, Ugandan Karamajong raiders killed 100 Pokots and made away with 1,800 herds of cattle.

Government records indicate that in 2010, 75 people lost their lives during raids and counter-raids. These numbers are in large contrast to the rare loss of life that had been traditionally common during cattle raids. It is, therefore, important to find out the cause of this escalation. It is also important to learn the roles played by women in the prevailing circumstances. This is largely relevant because while raids are generally accepted as the domain of men, their planning and preparation happen in a community setting. It was, therefore, a presumption of this study that these women are also in one way or the other involved either during, before or after these raids. Hence, this study set out to find out the involvement of women in such conflicts.

1.3 Research Objectives

The study will be guided by the following objectives.

- To establish the causes of conflict among different communities in Turkana district.
- To establish the role of women in inciting and perpetrating conflict.
- To find out the role of women in conflict resolution and peace building.

1.4 Justification of the Study

Cattle rustling has received a considerable amount of literature from scholars as indicated in the introduction of this chapter. A lot of material on the nature, causes and resolutions of armed conflict in the world, African and Kenyan perspective exist. It is common in many of the works cited to mention women as victims in various armed conflicts. Most works read portray women as passive participants in conflicts. They are brought out as weak, helpless and vulnerable during situations of conflict.

Little is known on the role of women in the perpetuation of armed conflict. This project work was, therefore, intended to shed light on the role of women in the creation of conflict among the Turkana. Turkana county was chosen because it has experienced intense and persistent conflicts for generations compared to other counties of Kenya. Moreover, Turkana women were specifically chosen because they are in the middle of the most recurrent of armed cattle rustling in the region and hence would give a true image of their roles. In addition to filling the gaps that exists, the loss of life of law enforcement officers as in the Baragoi massacre of 2013 underscores the importance of the study in understanding the conflict from all perspectives in an effort of preventing more destruction.

1.5 Scope and Limitations

The study focused on the Turkana County because of the high frequency of cattle raids among the inhabitants of the region. The communities in Turkana County are unique in Kenya due to its geographical location and its proximity to volatile porous borders, where the Karamoja of Uganda and Merille of Ethiopia are perennial external foes and constant raiders.

Although armed conflict is widespread in Kenya, the study focused on the issues of cattle rustling in the period between 2005 and 2010 with occasional borrowing from other periods. This is particularly because during this period the region registered the highest number of armed inter-clan conflicts and casualties, associated with these raids.

The area of study did not have any organized means of public transport and the researcher had to rely on personal means of transport. The area is also insecure and the researcher had to work with the area administration officials and the local elders in order to access the information required from the key informants and for provision of security.

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The researcher having worked in the region was, therefore, able to counter the above and other challenges including, but not limited, to financial constraints.

1.6 Literature Review

The following are summaries of works consulted during this work. They are meant to give an overview of the world, Africa and Kenya's perspective on armed conflict and women according to the various writers.

Women participation in armed conflict is not a vastly discussed concept, as most of the works focus on women as victims. According to Lisa and Manjrika, it would be naive to assert that all women respond in a similar manner in a given situation or that women are 'natural peace builders'[16].However, plenty of literature exists on the role of women in conflict. But this literature is entirely for the post-1980s.Generally speaking, women and girls experience much inequity, hunger, disease, disempowerment, gender-based violence and human rights abuses and associated psychological trauma. In addition, they suffer from abduction, sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), killing/maiming, unwanted pregnancies, separation/ widowhood, HIV/AIDS (growth rate of HIV in the target area is very high), forced prostitution, increased domestic violence, and social stigma. They are also faced with the task of keeping families together after displacement, providing food, clothing and shelter in what is, in most instances, destroyed infrastructure.

The available literature shows that women are as capable of military action as men. Pankhurst observes that women do not sit back in respect of cultural constraints based on gender[17]. Masika concludes that the roles taken up by women in the Kerio Valley armed conflict are a testimony that women are not just victims, but sometimes active participants in the conflict. He further alludes that, indeed, the roles played by women proved the liberal feminists right that the roles of women in society were sometimes similar to those of men[18]. They also defend their communities with their lives as much as the men and in fact, women can be the origin of the conflicts that they were initially thought to be victims of. This should, however, not be

[16]Mungai, Alister N. *The role of women in post-conflict reconstruction in Africa: a case study of Liberia.* Diss. University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2012.

[17]Pankhurst, Donna, ed. *Gendered Peace: Women's Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation.* Routledge, 2012

[18] Masika, David N. *The role and impact of Armed conflict on women: the case of the Kerio Valley, 1978-2007.* Diss. University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2010..

construed to mean that women do not suffer from conflict. These views will entirely shape the research in its attempt to bring forth the role played by Turkana women in conflict in an objective way.

The reality of women's suffering is brought out in the Russian steppes of Pokhrovka as early as 6th century BC. [19] During this era in the Russian steppes, women and their children were the obvious victims of violence; the women resigned to this realization and were constantly abused for the sake of their children's survival. According to Amna and Intisar, women can be peace-makers within communities in which they live. However, the authors also further assert that despite their crucial role as care givers within their homesteads, women also play a role as makers or creators of war. Women use traditional communication signals, such as war songs, to incite or urge men to go and fight. In their analysis of the role of women in conflict, the authors also argue that incidences of women joining the military as combatants to serve their country were common among West African countries. They hold that, during war time, women joining the military made cowardly men realize that "even women" were capable of carrying guns "just like men". Furthermore, women who took up arms did so as a voluntary effort to seek recognition and emancipation[20]. The two argue that women can contribute to the widespread nature of conflicts through their actions. For instance, in times of cattle rustling between two communities, women through their actions incite men to fight. This view will aid the researcher in bringing out the contributory role played by Turkana women in conflict.

Windwosen and Negash argue that in Somalia the traditional role of women is cooking, laundry, nurturing and "being wives". After the onset of war and the fall of Said Barre in 1991, these roles had considerably changed. Though the women were not allowed to be key decision makers, they were targeted for their political opinion in certain areas[21].Women suffer more often due to their new status as bread winners within the households. The death of husbands and sons in wars and conflicts cause them to take up the roles of warriors and peace builders. The author presents the women as taking up activism and openly supporting the different parties to the conflict. [22] In other words, women are increasingly more willing to stand up as

[19]Tazreena Sajjad, "Marching Towards True Freedom: An Analysis of Women Experiences in Frontlines of Guerilla Warfare and in The Post War Period", *Empowering Women For Gender Equality*, 2004,pp 4-16.
[20] Badri, Amna ES, and Intisar IA Sadig. "Sudan Between Peace and War: Internally Displaced Women in Khartoum and South and West Kordofan." (1998).
[21]Masika M., op.cit.
[22]Teshome, Wondwosen, and Jerusalem Negash. "The anti-terror war in Somalia: Somali women's multifaceted role in armed conflict." *Austrian Journal of Political Science* 37.2 (2008): 197-213.

champions of their own rights in societies that have for a long time discriminated against them. In all societies, especially pastoral communities, women have borne the blunt of conflicts. Despite this, they are increasingly playing part of mediators in conflict in the societies in which they live. The study will extend this line of argument to look at the strategies that women employ to start up or reduce conflicts among cattle rustling communities using the specific example of the Turkana.

Maria Nzomo supports the view that women act as facilitators of conflict through communicating war-mongering fables. They are, thus, not only victims, but also active participants before, during and after war. They serve as instigators, combatants, and service providers. They also participate in reconstruction of the post - war battered political economy and society. She further argues that despite all this, women are under-represented and sometimes not involved in official efforts at resolving internal state conflict. Women are increasingly being involved in combatant activities. But they are seldom part of the inner circles of peace negotiations, peace accords or policies at the formal level to resolve conflict. Further, she argues that most African conflicts are self-inflicted wounds arising from bad or undemocratic governance, partially manifested in gender inequalities[23]. The discussion by Maria Nzomo concludes that women are critical actors in communities in which peace has been the prevailing situation. Her views will, therefore, be useful to this study in the attempt to document the actual role played by the women in Turkana during armed cattle raids[24].

According to Ikelegbe, marginality can be a cause of the gender movement and engagement for the struggle for social justice. He identifies women's organizations and how they are actively engaged in the oil economies where the women have appropriated traditional women protests as instruments of engagement in the struggle for justice. To him, women are ready to use resources at their disposal in their struggle. Thus, in situations where women are marginalized or oppressed, they join together and push for the improvement of their status in society.[25]

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[23] Nzomo, Maria. "Gender, governance and conflicts in Africa." (2002).
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ikelegbe, Augustine. "Engendering civil society: Oil, women groups and resource conflicts in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 43.02 (2005): 241-270.

Moreover. Gardam and Charlesworth indicate that international laws do not adequately protect women in conflict. Furthermore, they argue that armed conflict does not always have a negative impact on women and that at times it serves to empower them by giving them roles that were traditionally performed by men[26].

This implies that the changing role of women in society is in tandem with the view that traditional roles are becoming diffused across gender barriers. This observation supports the critical role that women living in conflict-prone areas may assume, such as the position of peace makers rather than being passive actors.

In other works, for example by Harry West, it is held that women's role in the struggle for political freedom was clearly brought out when they participated in the nationalist struggle to achieve political liberation. The author argues that women were moved by ideological commitment to the cause. The article further states that women found their emancipation intertwined with that of their nation's interests and, as such, willingly took up arms and fought alongside men in their quest for independence. The article clearly brings out the role of women in the struggle as belligerents in active combat. West observes further that in many African countries during the nationalist struggles, female social roles were set aside and women proudly and successfully took up the combat roles set aside for men[27]. However, the author says very little on the role of women in fostering peace by the use of means other than force. Women sometimes apply other strategies to champion their cause without necessarily applying political activism. The work shows that looking into the role of women as peace builders needs a succinct study that will be appropriately utilized for the improvement of life for people living in pastoral communities. This study will fill this gap by examining the methods that women employ against, or in support of, armed conflict.

On the other hand, Hasso discusses the case of women deciding to use their bodies as a barrel of explosive gun powder to burn their enemies, for example, in the Israeli military. They do this in an effort to rouse men into military action to protect their society as they supposedly should. He vividly illustrates how women work to counter the belief by men that they should not be active members in the society. Their actions question the belief that their enemies are

26Gardam. Judith. "Women and the law of armed conflict: why the silence?." *International and comparative law quarterly* 46.01 (1997): 55-80.
27West. Harry G. "Girls with guns: Narrating the experience of war of Frelimo's" female detachment"." *Anthropological Quarterly* 73.4 (2000): 180-194.

the Palestinian men. As such, the paper points out the fact those women are active in military roles during the war.[28] The researcher's hypothesis is that women are also a party to the conflict.

Tazreena Sajjad examines the context and experience of women who take up arms in liberation movements. Sajjad posits that middle class women are more likely to join liberation struggles as they are more politically informed and have fewer cultural constraints. This offers them more flexibility. According to the author, women have been coerced into the culture of armed conflict to address their problems, hence their joining guerilla movements. Yet after the struggle, women are rarely involved in decision making and equal sharing of resources.[29] He points out that in spite of women's efforts to bring peace in society; they are soon marginalized by men after the struggle.

According to Claire Brewster, during the Spanish- American war of independence of 1803, women used to fight alongside men. At times women disguised themselves as men. She further points out that even though the society was patriarchal, with women considered as the property of men, their help during the war was very important. In some cases, they were seen initially as playing supportive roles in war, but later engaged in actual fighting by taking up arms. As times changed, constraints of the time forced some of these women to disguise themselves by dressing like men in order to go to war. The participation of women was recognized when in 1812 the law had to be amended so that women could face punishment for engaging in war. Initially particularly among African societies and by extension among the pastoralist communities like Turkana, women had been perceived as incapable of engaging in such labor intensive activities as fighting. The author notes that their war time participation was liberating for the women as the constraints that were imposed on them before the turmoil were gradually shed off.[30] Therefore, the researcher relies on this work to shed off the perception that Turkana women are incapable of engaging in the "hard task" of war.

Melander examines the extent to which gender equality can be associated with conflict. His emphasis is on prevention. He argues that those nations that have a higher degree of women representation in all levels of government experience less armed conflicts. According to him,

[28] Hasso, Frances S. "Discursive and political deployments by/of the 2002 Palestinian women suicide bombers/martyrs." *Feminist Review* 81.1 (2005): 23-51.
[29] Sajjad Tazreen .op.cit .
[30] Brewster, Claire. "women and the Spanish-American Wars of Independence: an overview." *feminist review* 79.1 (2005): 20-35

men are more likely to engage in violence because of their gender roles which encourage violence as the masculine norm. On the other hand, women's involvement in war is likely to result in them engaging in actions to avert future war because of their gender roles that are associated with nurturing. He therefore concludes that gender equity in society is often useful in prevention and aversion of conflict.[31] Yet in certain circumstances women are the potential players in conflict especially through their actions. Therefore, women in conflict can adequately play both roles of conflict resolution, on one hand, and that of instigators, on the other. The researcher relies on this realization to enrich his work while looking at the Turkana women.

M.Caprioli has supported the view above that there is a direct relationship between gender inequality and the tendency of a state to get into conflict. In his research, he found that the notion that men are born soldiers and dominant over women, leads to structural gendered violence, and that the violence is perpetuated at the state level. According to him, if domestically gendered violence is accepted in a state, the population is socialized to believe that conflict is acceptable, hence a higher probability of engaging in full-scale conflict. Furthermore, the nurturing voice of women is also denied. Men in their patriarchal reasoning of dominance are more likely to engage in conflict.[32] Conflict therefore, is generated from many facets of life, such as gender inequality. This study will investigate gender and its role in conflict especially among cattle rustling communities.

Mary Fitzgerald emphasizes the impact of war on Sudanese women by giving them an opportunity to have their voices heard. She argues that despite the years of war and woes that beset the Southern Sudan women, they found a way forward within the context of their culture. She further argues that in actual conflict women joined the military, for example, the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (S.P.L.A.), in an effort to pursue equality, though such equality was often elusive in the battlefield. The women were seen as contributing in actual combat for the country.[33] Traditional beliefs though influential are sometimes abandoned over time. This study will extend its scope to examine the changing patterns of work-roles among the Turkana people of Kenya and how such changes have influenced the role of women in conflict.

31 Melander, Erik. "Gender equality and intrastate armed conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 49.4 (2005): 695-714.
32 Caprioli, Mary. "Primed for violence: The role of gender inequality in predicting internal conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 49.2 (2005): 161-178.
33 Fitzgerald, Mary Anne. "Throwing the stick forward: the impact of war on southern Sudanese women."Nairobi, UNIFEM, 2002

Heather Deagan in her review of the women's role in war in South Africa sees women as both perpetrators of war and victims, in equal measure. The author points out that the modes of conscription into the conflict by combatants are both by force and by consent. In war, what women can do even to fellow women is depicted to be worse than that which is done by men. In South Africa, for instance, white women are said to have participated in torturing black women, for example, by attaching live electric cables to the nipples of their victims. In another instance, the women were forced to insert water up the fallopian tubes of fellow women. However, the author also noted that some women during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings claimed that they did this to other women in an effort of self-preservation. She therefore successfully eliminates the notion that women do not take part in conflict.[34]

Chris Coulter contradicts the opinion that men wage wars and women find peace. He states that this image is stereotypical and conceals women's involvement in conflict. The author argues that in modern Africa, women have presented themselves as equally capable as men of participating in conflict. At times they are even more brutal. Fighting makes women feel less feminine where femininity is perceived as a sign of weakness. Therefore, to him, women find emancipation from their marginalized position in joining the fight. He however concedes the fact that some women join conflict as a means of self-preservation. There is also a population of women who are forcibly conscripted into the war.[35]This is important to the study as it reinforces the assertion that women at times engage actively in conflict as a means of self-preservation.

Annette Webber in her discussion examines the participation of women in armed conflict in Eritrea. She asserts that women who were fighting in both the Eritrean war and the Sudan war were not given access to weapons. She finds that as such women are marginalized by men even in war. According to her, women in the course of the war were being assigned supposedly "women-based" roles which were considered supportive, such as cooking and nursing.[36] This

[34] Naughton, Lisa, Robert Rose, and Adrian Treves. "The social dimensions of human-elephant conflict in Africa: a literature review and case studies from Uganda and Cameroon." *A Report to the African Elephant Specialist Group. Human-Elephant Conflict Task Force, IUCN, Glands, Switzerland* (1999).
[35] Coulter, Chris, Mariam Persson, and Mats Utas. *Young female fighters in African wars*. Stockholm, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2008, pp. 2-54
[36] Weber, Annette. "Women without arms: Gendered fighter constructions in Eritrea and Southern Sudan." *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 5.2 (2011): 357.

was so because they were treated as delicate and could not be able to withstand hardships that come with war in the battle front.

1.6.1 Summary of the Literature Review

This review of the literature shows that there is very little research done towards cattle rustling as a form of armed conflict. Much of the available literature has focused on political causes of violence with women seen as being less involved than men. It also shows that in post-conflict peace building women are also marginalized. Traditions that are strongly embedded in certain communities, such as warrior-ship and cattle rustling, are unique in that they are considered culturally acceptable and all communities that engage in rustling have a justification for it. Furthermore, cattle rustling may also occur when there is general peace in which women play their critical role as peace-makers. It is, therefore, not clear if the women in the raiding communities are aware of the plans or are even involved. This dimension has not been adequately covered by scholars. Those that indicate women's participation do so in a general sense and therefore fail to adequately document women's actual feelings during the engagement. This research sought to do so.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on feminism theory. The theory is about the struggle of women to break free of patriarchy. Women have attempted to achieve this emancipation through rationalization of actions of women in engaging in activities that have traditionally been regarded as the preserve of men.

1.7.1 Feminist Theory

In focusing on the feminist theory, different scholars offer a wide range of perspectives on the origin of women's activism. The study of feminist theories and feminism emerged as early as 1792 with the advent of political activism in Europe and the United States of America. According to Leila Rupps the first wave of feminist movement was witnessed in Europe where women faced discrimination and had limited rights due to men's flawed perception of women. Boserup argues that other than women acting as economic actors them, too, play important roles in conflict resolution within the communities in which they live.

Sigmund Freud maintains that gender is not biological, but based on the psycho-sexual development of the individual. He believes that gender inequality comes from early childhood experiences, which lead men to believe they are masculine and women to believe themselves

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feminine. He further maintains that gender leads to a social system that is dominated by males, which in turn influences the individual psycho-sexual development. In the African cultural set-up, women are perceived as the care-givers as well as the subordinated lot in society. This is experienced more among the pastoral communities. Yet in conflict, they may play an important role that keeps society in order.

The feminist theory has several branches that attempt to give a rounded explanation to social phenomena around women's role in society. Generally, the theories focus on the status of women in society, and argue that men and women are equal and should be treated as such. Thus, all feminists agree that there should be social justice and equity in society. However, the differences in concepts occur when it comes to the cause and the way to liberate women. For instance, to radical feminists, injustice in society that affects women arises from the political institutions. Thus action to rid women of this oppression should be directed towards the institutions that nurture them.

The radical feminists find that the society is divided into two classes; male and female. They argue that men not only share a similar biology with each other, but also political interests which are maintained through the institution of patriarchy. They observe that the interests of men are necessarily in conflict with the interest of women. This view is supported by Adrienne who asserts that the ideological and political systems subdue the female. She concludes that rituals, tradition, law, language, customs, etiquette, education and division of labour strongly discriminate against females in society.[37]

Radical feminists believe that, "maleness" ceases to be a biological trait and becomes a cultural or ideological trait. This is to say that males have specific interests caused by their "maleness" among which is the domination of women. In this sense, the emancipation of women can only be sought and achieved through the destruction of maleness itself.[38] Confronted by inequality based on gender, the radical feminists prefer the use of legal force to overturn events and systems causing or leading to their oppression. Individual feminists ascribe to the view that individuals are born sovereign, they are self-owned, and that no other person should have jurisdiction over their bodies. They demand equal respect for the natural rights of all

[37] Rich, Adrienne. *Of woman born: Motherhood as experience and institution*. WW Norton & Company, 1995.
[38] McElroy, Wendy. *Sexual correctness: The gender-feminist attack on women*. McFarland, 2001.

individuals. According to them, affirmative action under the law based on gender is immoral as it gives one gender special consideration. This will undermine the opposite gender and depict them as weak. They feel that women can operate at par with men. Privileges and restrictions based on gender are as such unacceptable. To them, oppression is institutional and to remove it, women need to be treated with the same consideration as men.[39]

Individual feminists view the world as divided into two classes, political and economic. They see the political class as criminals- to them, this is the group or class that wields power and uses it to get resources from the poor. The economic class comprises of the group that contains those people who have limited resources and do not have power or is unwilling to use force. Individual feminists contend that the first class uses force to acquire wealth and is constantly at war with the economic class upon which it preys. This brings conflict that is rampant in many societies. According to individual feminists, both classes have men and women and individuals are free to change their affiliations at will. An individual is either the one that is ruled or the one that rules. Individuals in both classes (men and women) cross class lines at will.[40]

The study reviewed issues of women's participation in armed-conflict prone areas with reference to cattle rustling among the Turkana community in Kenya. In spite of the strengths of the feminist theory, the changing trends of feminist views may be seen as efforts to deconstruct the existing power relations in society. The inclusion of women in previously male-dominated activities and roles, according to Linda Kirschkle, indicates the growing concern for having an equitable society devoid of injustices that result in conflict[41]. This study is therefore anchored on this theory and especially radical feminism in explaining why Turkana women are now engaging in violent activities as a form of seeking emancipation from a male dominated society that had suppressed and oppressed them.

1.8 Research Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested during the study:

1. Resource scarcity is a major cause of conflict in Turkana.
2. Women are actively engaged in armed conflict in Turkana.

[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.

[41] Kirschke, Linda. "Informal repression, zero-sum politics and late third wave transitions." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 38.03 (2000): 383-405.

3. Women are very instrumental in peace building among the Turkana.

1.9 Methodology

This study was conducted in Turkana County located in Kenya. Turkana County has been deliberately selected on two grounds. First is its strategic position. It lies on the border of Kenya with three other countries; Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda. In addition, pastoral communities share a strong cultural orientation of armed conflict in which raids are one of their accepted traditional ways of acquiring livestock. In 2013 the government of Kenya experienced a devastating blow in Baragoi, Turkana where about 42 police officers were attacked and brutally murdered. In view of this, there was need for a more intensive and extensive study that can be used to inform the government on the necessary action to tackle the insecurity that has for a long time been seen as the major cause of conflict in the area.

The study employed qualitative research method. This was informed by the nature of the issues that the research intended to address in order to achieve its objectives. Primary data was gathered through in- depth interviews from key informants who were selected on the basis of their knowledge of the origin of conflicts related to cattle rustling in the area. They were also required to give information on pertinent issues such as the women's role in conflict initiation and resolution among the Turkana community. Personal interviews were conducted with security agencies operating in the area in order to gather first-hand information pertinent to the research. Other key informants included village elders and a sampled group of civil servants in the region because, as persons outside the community, they had an objective view of the community as observers.

Focused group discussions were held with specific groups, including women in the area.[42] They were randomly selected with the help of the church and lay leaders. Another group was obtained during a traditional ceremony, "Ndonga"(this is a ceremony characterized by song and dance following successful raids and good health) which is occasional in the area. This helped the researcher to gather information on gender roles in conflict among the Turkana communities. The free interaction helped provide richer details that are vital in supplementing data gathered through different key informant interviews. In order to obtain comprehensive data, the study obtained some quantitative data that was used in tracking the number, types and

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42 Focused group discussion held at Nakwamoru in Turkana south on 04/06/2014.

trends of peace initiatives in the area. The researcher was assisted by local research assistants, who acted as interpreters and also the entry point in the region.

The study used purposive sampling and then adopted both random and snowball sampling techniques in which the individuals perceived to provide relevant data were contacted and from them more contacts were acquired.

The data sources were numerous. However, the main source was primary data collected from the field, the local administration officials as well as women and other persons in the community who volunteered. Primary data on women's roles were obtained from the women, law enforcement officers in the region, administration officers and community elders.

The researcher had the advantage of having worked in Turkana South District as a security agent. He had first-hand knowledge of the community and conflict affecting the area: He was thus able to use his knowledge of the area to assist his project through key informants. From these informants, the researcher was thereafter able to employ snowballing technique to get other informants. Key informants from different areas provided vital primary data by use of a structured interview guide. Focus group discussions were employed where the researcher got a group of people together.

Secondary data was obtained from library research, written sources such as published and unpublished theses and materials, reports, scholarly journals and periodicals, books, working papers, records from provincial administration, policy documents and NGO project documents. These documents were obtained from the Kenya archives, local dailies, and National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Resolution. They then reviewed extensively to collect up to-date information about the subject area of study and also supplement primary data.

The researcher employed qualitative data analysis techniques. Qualitative data from various key informants and focus group discussions was used to explain various issues. They were then presented in form of arguments and statements. Analysis of secondary data was done by first examining the purpose for which the data was collected in regard to the study area.

CHAPTER TWO: TURKANA ARMED CONFLICT

2.1 Introduction

Turkana armed conflict is a resource conflict. These conflicts, armed in nature, involve several pastoral communities attacking each other for the purpose of increasing their stocks and/or recovering their stolen stocks. This type of conflict was culturally accepted. It has, however, changed to an outlawed, outdated and devastating practice which can no longer be justified. Traditionally, conflicts involving pastoralists in Kenya were generally straight forward in terms of their causes and manifestations. They were localized both in terms of the antagonists and their overall impact. It was thus possible to resolve them using community mechanisms.

The norm nowadays however, is to kill as many as possible of what are now referred to as "enemies". Sophisticated weapons are currently used and the proceeds of raids converted to money usually given by sponsors of the conflicts. Conflicts are much more complex in their causes and involve many factors and more players. Some of the players are now situated long distances away from the locations of conflict.

This chapter discusses the origin and development of the Turkana armed conflict and outlines the different flashpoints between the West Pokot and the Turkana, Turkana and Dodoth and Turkana and Toposas. It also looks into the causes of conflict between the Turkana and her neighbours.

2.2 Demographics of Turkana

The project area covered the communities along and adjacent to the eastern shores of Lake Turkana, mainly the Turkana south and West Pokot residents. In these region, residents are pastoralists and depend, for the most part, on raising cattle and goats, which they graze on the rangeland or 'bush' in the north-west of Kenya and in the extreme border regions of eastern Uganda and southern Sudan. Although the Turkana population extends southwards beyond Turkana North District, this study focuses on the northernmost section of Turkana society.

Turkana are a cross-border ethnic group spanning the Ugandan borders and Kenya. Alongside Kenyan Turkana is the Ugandan Dodoth who contribute to the western region conflict flashpoints. They are a sub-clan of the Ugandan Karamojong, who inhabit the north-easternmost reaches of Uganda. Like the Turkana, the Dodoth are a pastoralist group. They

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seasonally cross the Uganda–Kenya border to graze their herds in Kenya, at the foot of the escarpment that divides the two countries.

In southern Sudan, Toposas are the third and northernmost party to the conflict. They, too, are a pastoralist group, whose range not only extends along the Kenyan border with the southern Sudan, but also along the Southern Sudan-Ugandan border. [43]

The climatic conditions in the region have greatly influenced the lifestyle of the people living in these regions. Although Turkana has patches of fertile land and large ranches for farming, the region is subject to increasingly frequent drought, affecting both people and livestock.

The pastoralists all value and depend on their livestock which is primarily their form of livelihood. However; they all rely on the grasslands along the common border to feed their livestock in times of drought. It is, therefore, common during the dry spells to find different ethnic groups of herders in the same area depending on the same pastures and unfortunately with no commonly accepted form of conflict resolution or resource sharing. With time, overstocking causes the ultimate destruction of the pastoralists. Nato Loore an elder from Kerio described the situation this way,

> "This drought is very severe for everyone, we have very small herds, and I lost 100 goats and sheep in the past two months. Animals are dying from starvation now that the pastures are dried out, but also from a lack of regular access to water. Cattle die mostly because when they finally reach a water point, they drink too much, too fast. Only camels don't die."[44].

Lodoe, the chief of the pastoral community now in Naporoto, who declined to give his last name said, "We lost a lot of people these last months, mainly children and elders." He continued to say, "We don't count them because it is a shame for our community."[45].

[43] Bevan James, op.cit.

[44] *ICRC, Livestock Study in the Greater Horn of Africa,* 2004, Kenya Country Profile., Kenya, p, 8.

[45] See more: http://www.irinnews.org/report/93363/kenya-drought-exacerbates-conflict-in-turkana

Women in Turkana walking for long distances looking for water and food. Source: Caroline Six/IRN

The area of Turkana which borders Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia is subject to unrest. The people of Turkana North District occupy the area between the largely uninhabitable ground to the east and hostile neighbours to the north and west. Unlike the Ugandan Dodoth people, who have access to the west, or the Toposa, who have some latitude for northerly movement, the Turkana have a very limited area for movement. The population is consolidated into a relatively small (in pastoralist terms) area, in which it needs to maximize the available pasture at its disposal. According to Bevan, raids and counter-raids occur mostly between the Turkana and West Pokot because fresher pasture on the marginal area is constantly drawing all the communities towards each other. Once all the parties are drawn together, they converge into a series of narrow pasture belts. It is among these pastures that the flashpoints in the conflict are most visible[46].

2.3 The Nature of Turkana Armed Conflict

Conflicts between the Turkana and her neighbours are engendered by disputes over political and administrative boundaries and are blamed largely on competing elite interests. The elite of the communities instigate conflicts between their communities in order to push their agenda for political dominance. Communities are effectively used as proxies in pursuit of the political

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[46] Bevan James, op. cit.

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agenda of the respective elites. In the process, an expansionist agenda is pursued by both communities. Control of the economy, and through it politics, is part of the strategies pursued by the elite in this regard.

Whatever the causes of the conflicts may be, their persistence is blamed on the failure of governance and the rule of law. On one hand, traditional governance systems have been weakened by statutory structures that have been introduced. Moreover, modern structures of government are not adequately represented within pastoral areas and are thus ineffective in containing conflict and enforcing the rule of law. For example, Turkana south constituency in all its vastness, has only two police stations in Kainuk and Lokichar. Indeed, informants complained that when disputes arise, there is no prompt response by the authorities in charge of security. In some cases, government institutions are ineffective because they are seen to take sides in disputes and conflicts.

Efforts have been made to find lasting solutions to the conflicts in these zones. Tribal conventions have been adopted to control grazing rights, and provide for the sharing of the rangelands between the Turkana and her neighbours.

Kenya is considered as comparatively stable in relation to the other East African member states[47]. However, internally there are many flashpoints to conflict due to competition over resources, frequently occurring between the Maasai and Kalenjin, the Pokot and Samburu, the Samburu and Turkana, the Turkana and Pokot, the Pokot and Marakwet, the Somali and Boran, the Rendille and Gabbra and the Orma and Pokomo[48]. Cattle rustiing/raids, night attacks and road robberies are among the main manifestation and causes of conflicts in the district and beyond. Turkana district has the highest number of displaced persons due to cattle-related conflict. The figure currently stands at 41,097 people. Most of the displaced are from Kakuma and Lokichogio divisions. Cattle rustling and banditry activities in Kerio valley and in areas bordering West Pokot and Baringo districts has displaced 32,000 people accounting for 23% - of the total population of Marakwet district. In West Pokot district, 30,361 people have been displaced. Most of the displaced come from areas bordering Turkana, Marakwet and Uganda (Karamajong districts).

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[47] Ibid.
[48] *ICRC Livestock Study in the Greater Horn of Africa, 2004 - Kenya Country Profile.*

Alale division that borders Turkana district and Uganda has 11,871 displaced people. An in-depth analysis indicates that Samburu district comes second after Marakwet in terms of the percentages of the population displaced. Cattle rustlings in the district have displaced 17% of the district's population or 23,707 people. However, most of the displaced are Turkana from Baragoi and Nyiro divisions. It is hard to tell the number of the displaced Samburu since most of them take refuge in Manyattas (a group of temporary structures inhabited by pastoral communities) of their relatives unlike the Turkana who move to nearby urban centres[49].

The deaths in this region have been escalating since 2005 to the present. The deaths increased from 322 in the year September 2008 to 364 in December 2009. The table below summarizes the findings, with series 1 representing 2008 and series two representing 2009.

Reported killings in pastoral areas for the years 2008 – 2009
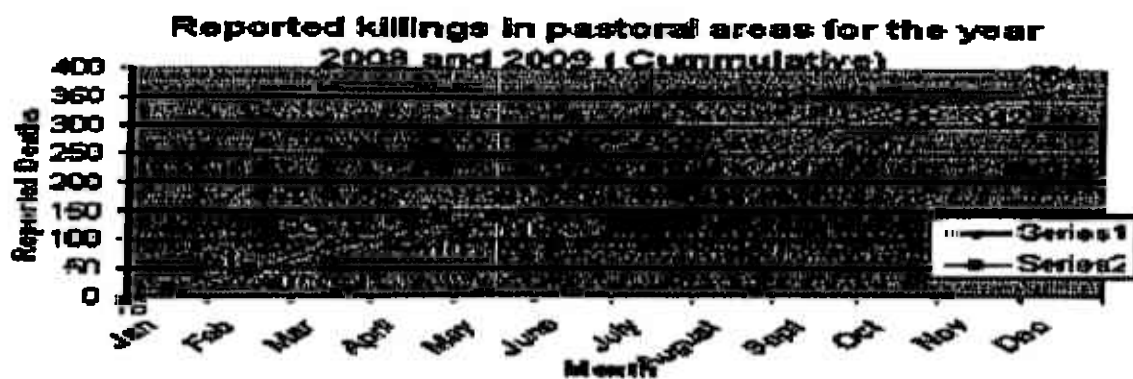
Source: World Bank Kenya Data, 2009[50]

Kenya has a reputation for bad governance, and one that pervades all aspects of political, social and economic life. This has been a major cause of economic stagnation, persistent poverty and social inequality, with the most obvious manifestations being seen in the northern pastoral areas[51]. Oxfam Kenya Country analysis indicates that the culture of corruption, together with poor policy implementation, inexplicable governance institutions, inadequate social safety nets, poor resilience to disasters, including effects of climate variability, use of political

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[49]Ruto, Adan and Masinde , op.cit .
[50] Kenya Data, op.cit.
[51] GOK, "Kenya Arid and Semi-Arid Lands Programme Strategy", Nairobi, 2011.

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violence and limited action to stop clan based conflicts all work collectively to keep poverty at unacceptable levels[52].

There are two principal fronts in the conflicts of Turkana North. The first is between the Ugandan Dodoth and the most westerly of the Turkana population, and lies close to the Kenya–Uganda border. The second roughly follows the Kenya–Sudan border and involves fighting between the Toposa and Turkana around the town of Lokichoggio and the Mogila Hills to the east, (See map below).

Conflict Flash Points in Turkana North

Source: Kenya Maps

Unless Kenyans develop a rational policy to address conflicts peacefully, many more Kenyans stand to fall victims of violence from their fellow Kenyans. Major factors accelerating violence in the country are scarcity of land and resources in addition to the culture of irresponsible leadership and governance.[53]

The livelihood strains in Turkana are numerous. According to the government of Kenya, the highest livestock populations are held by the Turkana and Pokot pastoralists of north-western

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[52] Oxfam Kenya, op.cit.
[53] Nowrojee, Binaifer, and Bronwen Manby. *Divide and rule: State-sponsored ethnic violence in Kenya.* Vol. 3169. No. 102. Human Rights Watch, 1993.

Kenya[54]. These pastoral activities involve many groups, and revolve around many issues, such as over-grazing, land tenure, access to water, health, education and employment, stock theft, tree cutting, and business contracts, among others. Pastoralism as practised by the Turkana and Pokot is mainly nomadic transhumance, characterized by risk-spreading and supple mechanisms, such as mobility, communal land ownership, large and diverse herd sizes, and herd separation and splitting [55]. Mainly the predominant source of conflict is livestock raiding and competition for resources[56]. Livestock raiding is not only domestic; it also repeatedly occurs on a cross-border basis, with the Turkana being largely affected by raids from Uganda by the Pokot, Dodoth, Jie, Matheniko and Karamojong. There are also raids from South Sudan by the Toposa and Nyangatom and from the Ethiopian side by the Merille and Nyangatom. The Turkana, in turn, also conduct raids on the above people in Ethiopia, South Sudan and Uganda. Livestock losses in cross-border raids are more difficult to estimate. Cross-border livestock raids have also occurred between Ethiopia and Kenya in Wajir, Marsabit and Moyale, involving significant human and animal losses in 1998. Thus tension on the issue persists between Ethiopia and Kenya[57]. Although these communities share the same practices, traditions and even to some extent the same language, the Ateker language, they are persistently at war.

The root causes of the conflict between Turkana pastoralists and her neighbours have been summed up as environmental scarcity and stress, lack of clear demarcation of district borders, and the imperatives of mobile pastoralism. These causes have been further complicated by politicization of the border issues by political actors on both sides who seek to make political capital during elections. Others are general political instability, lack of land policy with a clear land conflict management mechanism and the availability of arms in the region.

The politicization of the issue is further compounded by the long history of conflicts between the communities, which have ended up evolving in different directions. Lack of water for cattle and humans drives people to migrate to where there are permanent sources of water. These scarcities have been exacerbated by climate change in recent years. At the same time, pastoralists cherish the practice of keeping large numbers of cattle which further complicates

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[54] GOK , op.cit.

[55] Opiyo, Francis EO, Stephen M. Mureithi, and Robinson K. Ngugi. "The Influence of Water Availability on Pastoralist's Resource Use in Mwingi and Kitui Districts in Kenya." *Journal of Human Ecology* 35.1 (2011): 43-52.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Bourton, Jean ,op.cit.

the situation. Hence opportunists take advantage of these border conflicts to sustain the practice of cattle rustling, backed by the ready availability of light weapons and small arms.

2.4 The Armed Conflict between West Pokot and Turkana

In north-western Kenya, pastoral communities have a long history of conflicts. As earlier observed, the causes as well as the consequences of ethnic conflicts that take place in Kenya may not render themselves easily to categorization. This is perhaps because of the fact that the practice of negative ethnicity is most of the time a rallying call for conflicts. The conflict between the Turkana and the Pokot, as well as with other communities, is well documented. As pastoralism revolves around livestock, the North Western Kenya conflicts are predominantly about livestock and its related productive assets - water, land and pasture. These resources closely tie conflicts to the violent theft of livestock, referred to as raiding, which are both a contributing factor and an articulation of conflict[58]. Customarily, livestock raiding involved small-scale controllable violence and theft of the best livestock or replacement of animals lost during periods of droughts or diseases. Loss of lives was uncommon, and would always be compensated in the form of livestock paid directly to the victims' families[59]. However, recent studies have shown more widespread, more complex, more violent, and more destructive activities due to the availability of modern small arms and a ready market for stolen stocks. Moreover, a new trend of commercialization of raiding, where raids are increasingly being sponsored by people in the comfort of their urban homes, is apparent. Demarcation disputes, banditry and predation have also greatly increased in the communities in northern Kenya[60]. This statement is supported by interviews conducted during the research showing that there is an increase in modern weapons and thus an increase in the scale of armed violence in the region. In an interview, a respondent stated that a local politician would give ammunition and direct the raids and, once successful, the raiders would be paid in cash while the politician kept the animals[61].

The armed conflict is mainly perpetrated by younger men below the age of 30years. Based on the interviews with the stakeholders, three types of livestock raids can be identified according to the number of participating raiders. Firstly, are 'mass raids' whereby several hundreds or even thousands of raiders attack a neighbouring community for this type of raid, the men are

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[58]S chilling, Janpeter, Francis EO Opiyo, and Jürgen Scheffran. "Raiding pastoral livelihoods: motives and effects of violent conflict in north-western Kenya." *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* 2.1 (2012): 1.
[59] Oral interview, Patrick Lorogoi, Turkana, 4/6/2014.
[60]Oral interview, James Okurot, Turkana,4/6/2014.
[61] Oral interview, John Ekai, Turkana , 4/6/2014.

brought to Turkana south from as far as Kibish area of Turkana North. This type of raid is usually conducted after the blessings of all the elders and ancestors are sought. There is usually song and dance before such attacks are launched where the women prepare dried meat and wet maize for their husbands. This type is usually seen as a community affair and the political class is required to procure ammunition for the community.

Secondly, are the 'adakar' raids, where several dozens of raiders from nearby villages come together to raid one village or kraal of a rival community. This type does not require a lot of planning or involvement of the entire community. It is often sanctioned by kraal leaders.

The third type of raids is the smallest with mostly less than 15 participating raiders. The targets of the latter raids are usually small, unprotected kraals or a group of animals under only one herd boy[62]. It emerged from the in-depth interviews that the Pokot side was rich in pasture, water and animals, while the communities on the Turkana side relied almost entirely on food aid as they had lost most of their livestock during the extended dry period. While the strongest motives for raiding by the Turkana are drought and poverty, their counterpart Pokot people attach much value to the payment of dowry and accumulation of wealth, and to a lesser extent, expansion of territory. Some key informants linked these motives to commercialization trends of raiding and political incitement. It also emerged that the Pokot people are equally good farmers and they often substitute animal keeping with farming. This was said to insulate them from drought which would be more pronounced if they only relied on animals. Hence, the Pokot raids do not necessarily come at the backdrop of drought.

2.5 Other Conflict Flash Points

2.5.1 The Dodoth and the Turkana

The principal area of dispute between the Dodoth and Turkana is around the escarpment that divides Turkana North and the Ugandan plateau. (See map on page 1) The Dodoth inhabit the plateau, which receives more rainfall than the arid valley that comprises much of Turkana North to the east. The Turkana have always driven their herds of cattle to the Ugandan escarpment to look for pasture for their livestock. This has triggered raids by both parties, and the Turkana have recently been targeted for attack by the Ugandan military in an effort to

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[62]Schilling, Janpeter, op.cit.

dissuade them from crossing the border. The Dodoth are armed with light machine guns and for the most part AK-47 assault rifles[63].

2.5.2 The Turkana and the Toposa

Hostilities between the Turkana and Toposa occur primarily along the Southern Sudan–Kenya border, in a triangle between New Site to the west and the towns of Napadal and Lokichoggio to the east (See map on page 1). Frequent clashes also occur in the hanging valley that bisects the Mogila range and in the rangeland to the immediate north-east of Mogila. These clashes occur either because the Toposa move south into Kenya, or the Turkana approach (or, in rare cases, cross) the border into South Sudan. The distribution of clashes along the border is irregular, and there are several corridors that raiders from both parties prefer. The first corridor is an enlarged region running south-east. While the second corridor crosses the border at Nadapal and runs southward towards Lokichoggio, and the third runs along either side of the northern part of the Mogila range[64].

The Toposa are far more heavily armed than the Turkana. This disparity in armaments arguably results from the many heavy weapons left over from the Sudanese war. In particular, Toposa communities frequently deploy at least one PK machine gun among their warriors.

2.5.3 Other Parties to Armed Conflict in Turkana Region

The respondents revealed that there are other parties involved in armed conflict like the Nyangatom of south-eastern Sudan, who reside between the Toposa and the Ethiopian border. The Nyangatom normally raid as far as Lokichoggio in Kenya and have usually transited through Toposa-controlled territory in order to seize cattle from the Turkana. The Sudanese Didinga and the Ugandan Jie are neither directly involved in conflict with the Turkana, nor do they play a significant role in Turkana North District, but their hostility towards the Southern Sudanese Toposa and Ugandan Dodoth, respectively, helps to shape the market for arms and ammunition in the region.

The Sudanese Didinga resides, primarily, in the Didinga Hills, to the north and west of the Sudanese towns of New Site and Natinga. They are ancient enemies of the Toposa, but have been a consistent source of weaponry to the Ugandan Dodoth. The Uganda Jie inhabit an area

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[63] Schilling, Janpeter, Francis EO Opiyo, and Jürgen Scheffran. "Raiding pastoral livelihoods: motives and effects of violent conflict in north-western Kenya." *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* 2.1 (2012): 1.
[64] Ibid.

that broadly encompasses Kotido District, Uganda. When the Turkana were able to move relatively freely across the Kenya–Uganda border, trade with the Jie provided each party with a source of weapons and ammunition[65]. The movement was curtailed by the Ugandan military which is now deployed along the Kenyan/Uganda border to stem the hitherto rampant cross-border cattle raids among cross border communities.

2.6 Causes of Conflict among the Turkana

Resource scarcity has the potential to drive society into a self-reinforcing spiral of violence, institutional dysfunction, and social fragmentation. According to Pkalya, Adan and Masinde the patterns of conflict in the North Rift and North Eastern regions in Kenya are complex. There are many factors contributing to the risk of violent conflict, and these have tended to become mutually reinforcing. The scholars point out that the major causes of conflict among the pastoralists include, but are not limited to, intensified cattle rustling, proliferation of illicit arms, inadequate policing and state security arrangements, the diminishing role of traditional governance systems, competition over control and access to natural resources, (such as pasture and water), land shortage, political incitements, ethnocentrism, increasing levels of poverty and idleness amongst the youth. Ruto, Adan and Masinde quantify these major reasons of attacks in Turkana as follows, 88% claimed revenge as the main cause of conflict. Other major causes include: infiltration of firearms (80%), cattle rustling (75%), competition for scarce resources (73%), heroism (64%) and dowry (63%). Other causes included: discrimination amongst the residents (60%), poverty (50%) and politics (35%), among others. It was also noted that crossing district borders (15%) causes conflicts[66]. For instance, conflict arose between Turkana and Samburu/ Rendille when the Rendille crossed "Soito Ol kokoyo" plains.

However, a major contributor to conflict and subsequent armed conflict is scarce resources. According to the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the onset of the short rains, from mid-October to December, tends to increase the likelihood of cattle raids and therefore conflict. This is when pastoralists restock their herds and it is also when rites of passage take place, increasing the demand for livestock.

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[65] Ibid.
[66] Ruto, Adan, and Masinde , op.cit.

According to a district peace committee member in Tot location, competition for scarce natural resources is widely understood to be a primary cause of conflict in the region[67]. Moreover, one of the residents of Tot location, Ekai, emphasized that competition also encompasses having bigger and better stock than the other community which, in turn, means more wealth[68]. This is translated to mean that, while the conflict for pasture is key, other economic factors, such as accumulation of wealth through cattle rustling, equally play a critical role in the conflict.

Land is equally being played out by the political class as a major cause of conflict, not for pasture but for mineral resources that are being discovered in the current energy exploration. In Turkana south, for example, there is a bitter struggle between the Pokot and Turkana over the Turkana South-West Pokot boundary. The Pokot people, through their political class, have claimed that their land stretches to the Kainuk River, while the Turkana claim that their map shows the initial boundary as being on top of the Turkwel Gorge. To show the resolve of both parties, there have been increased attacks on the communities living along the disputed land. The much publicized Lorogon Siege of February 2013 is an example where, in this case, the Pokot surrounded the Turkana village demanding that the area (Lorogon) is in west Pokot and so the Turkana should not live there. In this case, land is not fought over due to the pastures, but rather agitation by the political class in anticipation of more oil finds. Despite this and due to the delicate political situation, with the Pokot supporting the incumbent Government and Turkana people the opposition, the Government has opted not to end the dispute by clearly demarcating the land in order to effectively end the blood bath.

This was supported by local elders, Ekai, Edapal, Atabo and Elim in a focus group discussion (FGD)[69] where Ekai said" The government should tell us where the true boundary is to stop our enemies from taking our land". To add on to that, the loss of communal grazing land to farming and environmental degradation, has also fuelled conflicts in a number of pastoral areas across the region.

The debate on scarcity and armed conflict extends to drought and shortage of rainfall. African Union posits that in the absence of strong local institutions, when pastoral groups struggle to maximize their share of the limited grazing resources, especially during droughts, competition

[67] Oral Interview L, Lenalparsipai, on, 8/6/2014.Kaptir –Turkana South.
[68] Focus Group Discussion, Ekai, J, Edapal, P, Atabo, A and Elim, B. on 4/6/2014 .Nakwamoru Catholic Church compound.
[69] Focus Group Discussion, Ekai, J, Edapal, P, Atabo, A and Elim, B. on 4/6/2014.

and armed conflict arise[70]. As such, by triggering scarcity and deprivation, drought therefore may not only cause conflict, but also compromise livelihoods. Moreover, drought, range degradation and conflict are interlinked by complex inter-reinforcing mechanisms that make them destructive to both resources and pastoralists' well-being. For example, a study by Macharia and Ekaya shows that land degradation reduces viability of pastoralism and directly contributes to increased vulnerability of pastoralist households to food insecurity[71]. This is to say that land that could have supported a large number of herds can no longer sustain the same number. In support of this premise, a local administrator, Lokeol, in an oral interview argued that the continued range degradation has direct potential effect of prompting ethnic tensions over shared resources in the absence of strong local institutions and proper inter-community resource sharing arrangements. He pointed out that the Pokot have overstocked and destroyed their pasture in the hills and are hence encroaching on their land for sustenance. This, on the other hand, makes conflict in their land inevitable as the young men continuously target their animals in raids[72].

2.7 Conclusion

The chapter surveys the Turkana people and the neighbouring communities as well as the causes of conflict in the region. Major causes of conflict among the pastoralist include, but are not limited to, intensified cattle rustling, proliferation of illicit arms and competition over control and access to natural resources, such as pasture, water and land issues. However, competition for resources takes a larger proportion of about 73%[73]. Major sources of conflicts were attributed to land, minerals and lack of rainfall. It can thus be confirmed that scarce resources are a major contributor of armed conflict in the region.

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[70] African Union-AU.*Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa: Securing Protecting and Improving the Lives, Livelihoods and Rights of Pastoralist Communities.* Department of Rural Economy andAgriculture, AU, Addis Ababa, 2014.

[71] Macharla P.N, Ekaya W.N. The impact of rangeland condition andtrend to the grazing resources of a semi-arid environment in Kenya.J. Hum. Ecol., 17: 143-147. 2005.

[72] Oral Interview P. Lokeol on 8/6/2014. Nakuamoru Turkana South.

[73] Ibid .

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CHAPTER THREE: WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN ARMED CONFLICT

3.1 Introduction

Women play double roles before, during and after conflicts. They have special skills in instigating conflicts as well as in establishing and searching for peace. Since the Fourth World Conference (1995) there have been remarkable developments in terms of expansion of the international normative and policy framework on issues related to women and armed conflict.

The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) has considered the theme of women and armed conflict on a number of occasions. In 1998, the Commission adopted agreed conclusions on women and armed conflict that called for action in a number of areas, including: ensuring gender-sensitive justice; meeting the specific needs of women affected by armed conflict; increasing the participation of women in peacekeeping, peacebuilding, pre- and post-conflict decision-making; and addressing disarmament and illicit arms trafficking of mostly small arms. In 2004, the Commission adopted agreed conclusions on women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peace-building.

This chapter examines the roles of women, with special emphasis on Turkana women, in the development of armed conflict, the impacts of conflict on women, the role of women in conflict and indigenous conflict resolution, and the participation of women in social institutions. It also explores women's representation in the system.

The primary role of women is the formation of social capital through marriage and blood relations between different clans or ethnic groups. That being the case the chapter outlines the different roles played by women in West Pokot, and among the Dodoth and Toposas that directly neighbours the Turkana community. An attempt has been made to compare and contrast the roles of women in Turkana and other regions in the world. Women across cultures and through time have rarely participated in war as combatants. However, when they have fought, women have performed well. Important cases include the nineteenth-century Dahomey kingdom, the Soviet Union in World War II, various irregular forces, and US forces in Iraq and Afghanistan. Women can kill at close range or as snipers, endure the hardships of battle, and keep their wits under fire. Given this record, it is puzzling that so few states have ever tried using women combatants. The reason may involve protecting the norms of masculinity that

often motivate men to participate in war.[74] It may also be for the protection of the reproductive role that women play.

3.2 Women in armed conflict world view

Women and men have different access to resources, power and decision making before, during and after conflicts. The experience of women and of men in conflict situations is significantly different. While entire communities suffer the consequences of conflict, women and girls are particularly affected because of their status in society and their sex. Women are thus caught in a vicious paradox: while they are the main civilian victims of conflicts, they are often powerless to defend themselves, they are excluded from the negotiations during the resolution process, and they are confined to a marginal role in the conflict resolution and reconciliation efforts. The general exclusion of women from decision-making positions prior to, during and following conflicts reinforces their victimization. Empowering women in conflict situations would help prevent gender-based violence, such as the terrible crimes of rape, forced pregnancy and sexual slavery. However, it is also recognized that women are not solely victims of conflict, but that there are times when they gain from conflict, particularly from conflicts related to cattle raiding in the pastoral areas. Their gain could be in terms of livestock and or social prestige. The livestock gain contributes to food supply and becomes a long-term asset for the family. Being a mother of a brave fighter, a woman will have high social status and prestige. While the whole community suffers from conflict, conflict has its greatest economic, social and psychological impact on women

Historically, women have fought more often in irregular forces, such as guerillas, militias, and terrorist groups, than in regular uniformed armies. Some armies also hold egalitarian ideological beliefs that support women as combatants. Women's ability to appear unthreatening and to hide behind laws protecting civilians have made them valuable assets as spies and suicide bombers, among other roles. In World War I, women supported industrialized warfare in new ways, such as piloting war planes and other support duties, for example, in camps treating the injured, incidentally breaking the pre-war international solidarity against war. Young women were combatants in African Liberation wars.[75] In Kenya the Mau-Mau

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[74] Goldstein, J.S. "War and Gender", *How Gender Shapes The War System And Vice Versa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

[75] Coulter, Chris, Mariam Persson, and Mats Utas. *Young female fighters In African wars.* Stockholm, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitute, 2008.

movement used women during their struggle as arm couriers as well as conveying messages to other fighters in addition to other roles, such as providing food and supplying medicines to the fighters.

The first women to officially join the US and British militaries were used in non-combat roles. In the Soviet Union, women made up about 8% of the Red Army and fought as front-line nurse/fighters, as pilots, and as anti-aircraft gunners. Several women's air regiments included one, the so-called night witches that flew cheap, highly combustible biplanes in a racetrack pattern to bomb German front lines by night from temporary forward air strips. A special school trained Soviet women as snipers. Ideology and manpower shortages seem to explain women's high participation in the Soviet case.

Women combatants play a propaganda role as symbols of the national will to win. Women in armed criminal gangs, paramilitary, and self-defense groups in Haiti are reported to have committed sexual violence, including gang rape, against other women and members of enemy gangs[76]. Finally, the prisoner abuse scandal at Abu Ghraib, in which photographs of Iraqi prisoners being sexually abused and humiliated by U.S. soldiers were broadcast by American media outlets, revealed women sexually abusing men, taunting them and pulling at their manhood's during wartime. This could have been the worst kind of mental torture to Iraqi men, considering the Iraqi society is highly male dominated.

Notably, the women soldiers of the civil war merit recognition in modern American society because they were trailblazers. Women's service in the military is socially accepted today, yet modern women soldiers are still officially barred from direct combat. Since the Persian Gulf War, debate has raged over whether women are fit for combat, and the issue is still unresolved. The women soldiers of the civil war were capable fighters. From a historical viewpoint, the women combatants of 1861 to 1865 were not just ahead of their time; they were ahead of our time[77].

3.3 Women roles in armed conflict in Africa

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[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.

In the various armed conflicts in Africa, young women are participants and carry guns alongside their male comrades. While the participation of women in combat has been minimal in some of Africa's recent conflicts, in others, such as Sierra Leone, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, women have taken part in significant numbers. They participate in a whole array of different roles during war but, by and large, they remain invisible to us.[78] With the presence of so many female fighters in Africa and elsewhere today, it has become necessary to expand the inquiries into what women 'really do' in war and critically to analyze women's roles as perpetrators and perpetuators of war and armed conflict. While acknowledging that even in situations where one can talk about the violence of women, as in the example of female fighters, one often finds violence against women as well.

The South African war began just six years after New Zealand women had gained the right to vote, and provided further opportunities for them to assert their independence. Many actively participated in fund raising to fund resistance, while some expressed public opposition to the war. A small number of women played a more direct role, choosing to leave behind a life of comfort to serve as teachers and nurses in South Africa[79]. Similarly, the female fighters in FRELIMO and RENAMO performed a range of different roles such as fighters, trainers of incoming recruits, intelligence officers, spies, recruiters, medics, first aid technicians, weapons experts, forced and domestic labourers, and captive 'wives' of male fighters.[80]

Women have been actively involved as fighters in African countries as diverse as Angola, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. McKay and Mazurana found that girls in fighting forces have been forced to violate cultural taboos more fully than boys. Women and girls are, or have been, members of government forces, armed opposition forces, and paramilitary or militia forces, in countries such as Angola and Burundi[81]. Aside from being fighters in front line combat, some with command positions, and 'wives' to LRA commanders, girls and young women have also carried out supportive tasks, such as preparing food, carrying loot and moving weapons.
It has been shown that although the reasons for joining armed movements are more or less the same for men and women, there are factors which are more prevalent among young women.

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[78] Coulter Chris, et al. op cit.
[79] Goldstein, J. S., op cit.
[80] McKay and Mazurana. 2004:109.
[81] Ibid.

According to research on recent post-independence wars. girls in fighting forces quite often stated their reason for joining was to escape domestic violence, abuse, and poverty. They rarely gave their motivation as religion or ethnicity, something that women involved in independence/liberation struggles frequently said compelled them to fight[82].

Female fighters actively participated when FRELIMO carried out a liberation war against the Portuguese colonial power that resulted in the independence of Mozambique. According to H. West. FRELIMO systematically recruited girls and young women, and in 1967 the Destacamento Feminino (DF) was formed, composed of girls and young women who were given military training. DF participated in armed combat, gathered intelligence and mobilized civilian support. Girls and young women were also abducted by RENAMO; while others joined because of discontent with FRELIMO's socialist policies and lack of educational opportunities under their rule. Some female fighters had also been promised educational opportunities abroad by RENAMO, which later never materialized[83]. The same has been said of women participating in the liberation movements in both Zimbabwe [84]and Eritrea[85]. The situation for women fighting in the recent post-independence wars in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Uganda was very different. While many were abducted, some young women clearly stated that they joined the fighting forces for their own protection or personal gain[86].

In liberation wars, female combatants may also add legitimacy and symbolic power to the war effort, as they may symbolize a unity in the movement in question[87]. Certain types of conflicts, like liberation wars, might attract more women than other types of conflict, as women's rights and equality are often emphasized in these struggles. During internal wars, civilians are frequent targets of terror tactics. such as killing, torture. looting and burning of property, amputation of limbs, disfigurement of body parts, and acts of rape.

Women and girls were involved in active combat within the TPLF, and composed approximately a third of the fighters. Most female fighters appear to have experienced their

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[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.

recruitment voluntarily. According to Veale, the contribution of female fighters to the liberation struggle is seen as almost legendary in Ethiopia. And within the TPLF, women were highly regarded and respected as fighters. Originally, some of these female fighters were abducted. Some admit they joined voluntarily, for many of the same reasons as male recruits. A number operated primarily as combatants. More often, they also served as nurses, cooks, sex workers, messengers, spies or administrative or logistical personnel[88].

Despite their active participation as shown earlier, women are still perceived through misconceived eyes of male supremacy, where they are passive in war, and at most, victims of such conflicts. As war is so often associated with these generalized images of masculinity and femininity, women have become associated with life giving and men with life-takings[89]. Although this patriarchal polarization of men and women is analogous with war and peace, it is as common as it is problematic. However, the image of the aggressive male is a stereotype, but more importantly, there is a deliberate effort at representation of conflict and aggression as something inherently male. This has also, by so doing, effectively concealed how women are affected by and more importantly, actively participate in violent conflicts and war. According to Coulter, Persson and Utas, therefore, it is essential that any analysis into the plight of female fighters in Africa be sensitive to local contexts, including in particular, local understandings of gender.

Modern African wars and violent conflicts have shown women as capable as men of performing violent acts. Local populations have often testified that female fighters are even more brutal and cruel[90].

Rape perpetration data calculated from Asher and Human Rights Data Analysis Group 2004, from responses that indicated perpetrators of rape were one of the following: RUF (includes RUF, Rebels, AFRC/RUF, Rebels/SLA, RUF/ SLA, SLA/RUF), CDF (includes CDF and Kamajors), and SLA/AFRC includes (SLA, AFRC, and AFRC/SLA) as shown below.

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[88] See more at: http://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/october-2005/women-africas-ignored-combatants#sthash.3ISaPVcQ.dpuf.

[89] Coulter, Chris. "Assessment of the 'Girls Left Behind' Project for Girls and Young Women Who Did Not Enter DDR," draft consultant's report to UCNIEF Sierra Leone (2004): 37.

[90] Ibid.

Major Combatant Groups by Proportion of Women and Reported Rape Perpetration

Faction	Percentage Of Female Fighters In Group	Percentage Of All Reported Rape Perpetrated By Group
RUF(Revolutionary United Front)	24.4	85.6
SLA/AFRC(Sierra Leone liberation army)	8.8	8.3
CDF(Civil Defense Force)	1.9	0.1

SOURCES: Female fighter data from Humphreys and Weinstein 2004₉₁.

A population-based survey conducted in 2010 in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) found that 41 percent of female sexual violence victims reported that they were victimized by female perpetrators, as did 10 percent of male sexual violence victims.₉₂ In Liberia, female fighters were implicated in the rape of women, including rape with objects such as guns, and in sexual crimes against men, such as cutting off their genitals or stuffing bottles or sharp objects through the anus.₉₃ During the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, women were active perpetrators of both killings and sexual violence.₉₄ One of the women involved in the scandal described the role of women in encouraging and participating in sexual violence against fellow women and men.

Currently, young women in Africa participate in insurgencies and rebel movements, but they are also frequently employed in state-sanctioned violence. In some national armies, the number of women is increasing; for example, women make up around one-fifth of the armed forces in Eritrea. Female Fighters in Northern Uganda, during the ongoing conflict which started in 1986, have been present in the rebel movement, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Most of them are abducted and forcefully conscripted. It is estimated that as many as 30 percent of the LRA fighters are girls. Female fighters have not always been acknowledged by organizations working in Northern Uganda, but cases of forced recruitment are numerous.

91 Courtlar, Cris. op. cit.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid .
94 Ibid.

Forced conscription can best be illustrated by the following extract from Sierra Leone Truth Commission of 2004

> "My mother begged them [the RUF Rebels] in vain to release me but 'Sergeant Small Soldier' – for that was the name of the rebel that abducted me – refused... he took me to...the camp where the girls and women were separated from the boys and men. We were left under the command of women rebels who maltreated us greatly... we were all trained to fight as rebels.... We were sent to raid neighboring villages to loot food and bring it back. If anybody disobeyed, you were cruelly beaten".[95]

3.4 Women in Armed Conflict in Turkana.

Historically the Kenyan woman has always been overlooked in as far as violence and conflict is concerned, more so where she is considered as the initiator of such conflict. This notion is understandable when one considers the traditional bias, where men are considered more adoptable to technology as well as warfare, while the woman is considered more inclined towards nature and the environment. Her mothering role further makes her seem more alienated to conflict and violence. However, this study found out that the Turkana woman wields more authority in as far as conflict is concerned than previously thought.

It is, however, important to note that in the interviews conducted where Turkana women were the respondents, they denied involvement in conflict propagation. The men and respondents from outside the community were more forthcoming with the information on women's participation in conflict among the Turkana.

Women in Turkana actively supported armed conflicts during 2005-2010. The chief actors in the armed conflicts were their husbands and sons. More so, women had all the reasons to take part or support the conflict. It was also noted that their participation was partly due to the direct positive and negative effects of the armed conflict on them.

In a focused group discussion, it emerged that women encouraged their men to go to raid in the following manner. First, they gave them blessings before raids -During the dry season, the sun

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[95] Sierra Leone Truth Commission 2004; Vol 3b; Chapter 3, para. 216.

is unforgiving and it is norm to see old women sleep under trees with no prospects of a meal. To the men, this is often enough to warrant them raid. The women, therefore, once informed that their children or husbands are going to raid, the respondents said that in such cases the women may slaughter a young goat and spill the contents of their stomachs on the feet of their husbands or children. This type of blessing is considered to enable the men be fast on their feet to avoid their enemies. It further emerged that in the absence of the goat for the ritual, it could be substituted by the women who have given birth washing her breasts with water then sprinkling the water on the men setting out for a raid. This symbolized protection of one's offspring.[96] The washing and sprinkling of the water was done by women who were past the child bearing age and without such blessings, the men could not venture out raiding. On asking of the consequence of one going out, the respondents mentioned that in the event of an unplanned raid, where a group of raiders are out, their mothers would get one of their ornaments left behind and put it in their sleeping skin or beneath it till the men returned. This was said to offer protection to those men. At the same time, the wives of the raiders would sleep on the side of the sleeping mat where the husband out raiding would ordinarily sleep. This culture is still practiced to date.

Second, they prepared meals before the raiding exercise. Women would prepare a special meal whose amount was dictated by the number of days the raid would last. Security officers in the area informed the researcher that a key indicator that a raid is eminent would be the preparation of *Topoilogon*. This is a type of meat where a goat is killed by suffocation and roasted whole. It is then cut into pieces, including the skin, salted, dried and stored in strips. This meat would go for days without going bad. In addition, the men would carry small jerry cans of water mixed with maize which the raiders could eat during resting stops. Ordinarily, the respondents said, the man would inform his wife that he was going for a long journey and the woman would get the hint and prepare the food required. The respondents further stated that the food for such raids could also be prepared by the girl who the man intends to marry as an additional wife.[97]

Third, women wield soft power over their men. While the respondents in a focused group discussion held at Nakwamoru did not fully accept that women wield some power in their communal setting, it emerged that after successful raids, the eldest wife of each raider received

[96] Focused group discussion at Nakwamoru on 23/04/2014.
[97] Ibid.

a cow to milk, after subdivision, she was the one responsible for directing who in the family would receive which animal. This means that, while the men went out raiding, the women were in charge of the family wealth. By extension, the eldest wife was also instrumental in deciding the particular animals that would go towards the paying of bride price for the subsequent wife. This aspect was said to be on the decline as men are increasingly adopting monogamy.

Fourth, the power of nagging cannot be underestimated in the decision of men going to raid. It was meant to psychologically torture the men into action. A good example is where women would, while in the group of men, pronounce phrases such as, "Go ask from your father today's milk, he knows where our cows are". This was usually said to young children and was meant to mean that their good animals are with the Pokot and as such their men should arrange to go for them so that the young children could get milk. As was earlier mentioned, the Turkana community held the opinion that raiding was merely returning what was taken and held for them by their enemies. A respondent in the focused group discussion mentioned that when a woman decided, there would be no peace at home[98]

Fifth, women supported their warriors through feeding them and nursing the wounded during protracted raids. To some extent, women acted as porters who transported the looted property.[99] Women also cooked and served warriors with food even when they had killed and were in hiding. After having killed a man or a woman, the warrior returns to his village boasting of his prowess. He may not enter his village until the new moon; his food is prepared by his mother or wife and taken to him in the bush. On sighting the new moon, he kills a black   goat and spreads its dung upon his chest and stomach. He shaves the front part of his head, then rejoins the village.[100]In such cases, the person who has killed a man is marked either on an arm or the forehead by a traditional healer by use of a sharp blade. These patterns are usually visible at a short distance as they are displayed to mark prowess at war.

Sixth, women met the raiders a short distance from the village where they sang songs of praise to a successful raiding party. One fine animal was selected and slaughtered and shared among all. During these songs, those men who did not participate in the raid would be ridiculed and

[98] Focused group discussion. Nakwamoru. 23/04/2014.
[99] Cohn. Carol. Helen Kinsella. and Sheri Gibbings. "Women. Peace and Security Resolution 1325." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6.1 (2004): 130-140.
[100] KNA. DC/TAM/2/1/35. Administration- Tribal Custom. 1918-53.

taunted as being cowards. It is at this time that the returnees would pick new wives. The respondents indicated that normally, for example a girl who prepared food for a raider before going out. would expect to be picked by the particular raider after a successful raid. These welcoming songs are still sung to date as was observed by the researcher while in a tour of duty in the study area.

Seventh. women in Turkana encouraged their men to go out and avenge their relatives killed during attacks on their villages. Revenge was cited as among the major causes of conflict among the Turkana community and indeed among the larger pastoral community. Women encouraged these types of attacks through open utterances. A woman would. for instance, say "where are our men to avenge the death of our children". During raids. therefore. the raiders would carry an extra burden of killing unarmed members of the rival community in the guise of avenging their kin. This has, in return. resulted in attacking each other without the particular reason of acquiring wealth. The researcher. therefore. attributed the deaths witnessed in the area, mostly during peace time and in the absence of raids, as revenge attacks.

Moreover. women took up the responsibility of security of their homes. if their men were killed in the conflict. As earlier pointed out, the gun was precious to warriors for this reason, and when one of them was killed during a raid, his kinsmen tried as much as they could to safeguard his gun.[101] Women, therefore, requested ownership of their husband's guns and learned how to use them.[102] On return from war, or a raid, the warriors or men were received by women, who sang and praised them and for those killed during the raid, their wives received their gun and part of the loot as compensation. According to a report by a District Peace Committee member, West Pokot, it was women who took the weapons and kept them for their husbands. Women also cleaned their husband's capes, robes and sandals.

Eighth, women bought guns for their young sons from arms traders and encouraged their children to learn how to use them for protection.[103] The report also noted that, on the return of the husband the wife took his shield and spears, untied his cape and unlatched his sandals.[104]

[101]Masika. M. 2010 (as 21 above).
[102] Krätli. Saverio. and Jeremy Swift. "Understanding and managing pastoral conflict in Kenya." *University of Sussex, Sussex* (2003).
[103] Oral interview. R Kibowen. Cheptot. 16/4/2014. See also. Gourevitch and Morris. 2008. *op . cit.*
[104]KNA. DC/WP/3/18. Political Record Book. 1920.

Among the Turkana people. being in possession of a gun was a sign of power. It made a man earn respect from the community. Moreover. it was considered the ultimate symbol of security. This is why a man who wanted to marry would typically be asked how he would be able to 'protect' his wife.[105] Men who owned guns. therefore. had favourable prospects with girls and young women especially if they showed prowess in the use of the gun.

The possession of weapons, and specifically guns, saw different lifestyle changes in Turkana youths. Dances were frequently organized by young men to demonstrate their ability to use the gun. They came along with their guns to show off to the girls by firing in the air. This worked as a motivation to women to identify themselves with such men.[106] Again, in the neighbouring communities, if a man was killed while raiding, the women remembered him as a warrior and a hero by saying. "He died in the footprints of cattle". Such a man was honoured by the entire community. This encouragement led to the proliferation of small arms and increased armed conflicts. In an interview, Loboyi Monoo. who lost his legs in a raid conducted by the Toposa in 2008. stated that, "The only exception from ridicule was to have wealth 'cattle'. The only way to get them is to steal. The more you get. the more women you can marry."[107]

On the other hand, it was shameful for a man to return from a raid without a single looted animal, as the women would accuse him of walking only in other men's footsteps.[108] The situation was even worse for the man who stayed at home while others went raiding. The man in question was deemed to be a real coward and no woman would allow herself to be identified with him. If married, his wives would complain that there was no man in the homestead- only women. Such a man would also be frequently told that he was only able to beat his wives and no other men.[109] Other women in society also ridiculed this man's wives and mocked them for having been married to a fellow "woman".[110] Women, therefore, played a pivotal role in accelerating the region's conflict, by taunting their warriors into going to war. Women's attitudes can sometimes contribute to the powerful cultural conditioning that equates masculinity with owning and using a gun, and regards gun abuse by men as acceptable. Women sometimes overtly encourage their men to fight, and. more subtly, support the attitudes and

[105] *Ibid.*
[106] Oral interview. J. Chesang. 4/1/2014.Tot.
[107] Oral interview. L Lobil. 4/1/2014 Kalimngerok.
[108] Oral interview. Joshua Lenal. 4/1/2014. Kalimngerok.
[109] Mkutu. Kennedy. *Pastoral conflict and small arms: The Kenya-Uganda border region.* Saferworld. 2003.
[110] Pauli. Julia. and Michael Schnegg. "Aridity. Change and Conflict in Africa." (2003).

stereotypes promoting gun culture. Women and girls also actively participate in many of the world's conflicts, either willingly, through coercion, economic pressure, or because they have been abducted and forced to serve[111].

Drinking of traditional alcohol and beer parties were highly respected social events among the larger Turkana communities, and women were chiefly associated with alcohol brewing.[112] Women among the Pokot and the Marakwet people brewed and sold alcohol to those who took it. Significantly, the brewing and selling of alcohol played an important part in the regions' conflict. For instance, women bartered their alcohol products for ammunition, if their customers did not have cash.[113] The women then sold the cartridges and bullets to persons who needed them for their weapons. [114]This combination of brewing alcohol and trading in cartridges was a common practice among women in Turkana, West Pokot, Baringo, Marakwet Districts and the entire Kerio Valley. [115]

Ninth, in addition to the subsidiary roles mentioned, it also emerged that Turkana women played an active role of ammunition resupply and distribution during active fighting. In the rearing of animals, men carried a small supply of ammunition ordinarily to protect their flocks, in case of surprise attacks by raiders. Women at home were trained to gather extra ammunition and girls were sent to deliver them in the battle front. It was therefore a common sight to see young women running towards the fighting ground with a leather pouch.[116]

Ten, another important role was to, hide, feed and protect the warriors from security personnel. To women, the warriors were their children, who could not be simply surrendered to the security personnel. They, therefore, gave information that pictured their children as good people with no criminal records. When warriors were hiding from the security personnel in the forest, the women cooked food and took it to them. By doing so, they protected their men after the raids.[117]

Eleventh, culturally, when the men were at war, the Pokot and Marakwet women wore special clothes *Leketio*, believed to have a special security or protection for the warriors. The clothes

[111]Masika, M., op.cit.
[112] KNA, Baringo District Annual Report for the year 1988. p.3.
[113] Pauli, Julia, and Michael Schnegg. "Aridity, Change and Conflict in Africa." (2003).
[114] KNA, Baringo District Annual Report for the year 1988. p.3.
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] Observation by researcher in the course of duty.
[117] *Ibid.*

or robes were very important because they were associated with life. They were supposed to instill courage and protection in the warriors.[118] Isabella Masinde, Mohamud Adan and Ruto Pkalya in their book noted that among the Pokot, there is a belief that a woman can protect her son from external harm of any kind by wearing the birth belt. *Leketio* is a belt which supports pregnancy, hence life. The belt is studded with cowry shells. *Leketio* is considered as a powerful charm that protects children from harm. Before warriors set out for a raid, each of them informs his mother so that she can wear the belt while he is away.[119]

3.5 Conclusion

The roles taken up by women in Turkana and neighbouring communities during armed conflict are a testimony that women are not just victims, but sometimes active participants in the conflict. The chapter gives credible evidence of women participation in armed conflict. Whether involved in activities of actual violence, or subsidiary actions fuelling war, their roles in armed conflict cannot be ignored. Indeed, the roles played by women proved the liberal feminists right that the roles of women in society were sometimes similar to those of men.

Unlike previously thought, the research proved that women, especially in Turkana, have for a long time been involved in the conflicts in their areas. In perpetuation of an armed attack, it is important for logistical support to come into play. Women are used to gather intelligence on the enemy, as well as provide food and water used by the warriors during the raid. In addition to this, they are known to incite their men using songs and dance calling unto them to go out and bring wealth. Ideally, this wealth is used as dowry. It also emerged that after these raids women welcomed the men back and sheltered them from law enforcement agencies.

In a nut shell, if women were not involved in the planning and preparations for these raids, they would not enjoy the success they receive.

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118 *Ibid.*
119 Mac Ginty. Roger. "Indigenous peace-making versus the liberal peace." *Cooperation and conflict* 43.2 (2008): 139-163.

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CHAPTER FOUR
ROLE OF WOMEN IN ARMED CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACE BUILDING

4.1 Introduction

There are numerous legal presentations providing for women in armed conflict and dispute resolution. For example, the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, the Women Peace and Security and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) have drawn international legal instruments and mapped out ways in which women should be involved in armed conflict resolution.[120] This chapter focuses on efforts made for bringing women into armed conflict resolutions and peace forums internationally and in Turkana.

The chapter highlights the various roles women play and at the same time compares different regions and their roles. Different countries have drawn different action plans to accommodate women in armed conflict. Lastly, the chapter focuses on Kenya as a country and the roles it has played in implementing mechanism for women to participate in armed conflict resolution, specifically, the women in Turkana and the specific roles that they play in resolving armed conflict.

4.2 The legal framework on women's participation

Though women have performed a variety of roles during war and in peacekeeping, especially as medical and administrative personnel, they have been mostly absent from formal peace negotiations and policy-making processes on war and peace issues. This problem has been greatly exacerbated by the absence of formal structures to accommodate women in such negotiations. Women's participation at the global level has been deliberated and new laws have been enacted to have women representatives in peace keeping. This is because women have been greatly affected by war and hence they should be part and parcel of the peace building. Peace negotiations regularly exclude women participants and neglect to sufficiently address issues pertaining to women and girls[121]. These omissions violate international law, including

[120] UNSCR 2001.
[121] Bell, Christine, and Catherine O'Rourke. "Peace agreements or pieces of paper? The impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on peace processes and their agreements." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 59.04 (2010): 941-980.

the Security Council resolutions on women, peace, and security, which require that peace negotiations involve equal participation by women and ensure women's rights. Getting women to the table is a critical first step, but it can only be the starting point to meaningful women's participation in peace negotiations. Women must not only be present, but also be equipped with knowledge of the international legal framework that governs how peace negotiations ensure the rights of women and girls[122].

According to the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) on Women, Peace, and Security, women are key actors in peace processes and post-conflict reconstruction. They have a right to political participation and share responsibility for shaping their country's future. As such the UNSCR made formal laws commonly referred to as UNSCR 1325 and follow-up resolutions to commit all actors in situations of conflict and fragility to take due account of the following points and to implement them;

   i.   To emphasize greater participation by women in peace building.

   ii.   Protection of the rights of women and girls during and after violent conflicts and prevention of gender-based violence.

   iii. Greater inclusion of a gender-perspective in emergency aid, in reconstruction during and after armed conflicts, and in dealing with the past and lastly,

   iv. Greater inclusion of a gender-perspective in conflict prevention.

In summary, the UNSCR 1325 of 2000 stresses on the importance of women's equal and full participation as active agents in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace-building and peacekeeping. It calls on member states to ensure women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and urges all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspective in all areas of peace building[123].

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[122] Notes: A more extensive document, which contains the relevant excerpts, and further details on each legal instrument, is available at http://globaljusticecenter.net/index.php/publications/advocacy-resources/409-the-international-legal-framework-of-peace-negotiations-requirements-andrecommendations-for-enforcing-womens-rights.

[123] http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/wps.shtml

Moreover, non-discrimination and the equal rights of women and men are fundamental principles of international human rights law[124]. A country's constitution should explicitly guarantee equal human rights for women, including civil, political and electoral rights. If a constitution does not specifically include such aspects, this may ultimately prove to be a serious impediment to women's participation in peace processes. The constitution and other elements of the legal framework should conform to international human rights instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and human rights treaties to which the country is a party, in particular the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. It is a best practice to incorporate such treaties as part of a country's constitution, or to specify in the constitution that the treaties take precedence over domestic law.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Euro Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) policy for implementation of UNSCR 1325 on women, Peace and Security suppose that NATO and its partners recognize the disproportionate impact conflict and post-conflict situations in many instances have on women and girls[125]. They also recognize the importance of ensuring women's active and meaningful participation in decision making and in security institutions and remain committed to contribute to the full implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, as reflected in the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and all subsequent related resolutions. As a result, NATO and its partners continue to work towards the participation of women in conflict prevention, management and resolution, and peace building, as well as in post-conflict efforts and cooperation. Moreover, NATO and its partners vow to remain committed to work towards the protection of women's and girls' rights, taking into due consideration their security and protection needs and the prevention of conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence[126].

Besides, the Security Council resolution 1325 (Women, Peace and Security, 2000), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), is a critical tool for moving the gender equality agenda forward in conflict and post-conflict situations[127]. CEDAW, often described as the international bill of rights for women, is the

124 Ibid.
125http://www.globaljusticecenter.net/index.php?option=com_mtree&task=att_download&link_id=421&cf_id=3
126 Read more on http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_109830.htm?selectedLocale=en
127http://www.unwomen.org/~/media/Headquarters/Media/Publications/UNIFEM/CEDAWandUNSCR1325eng.pdf.

human rights treaty devoted exclusively to gender equality. CEDAW establishes legal standards for the achievement of gender equality through the elimination of discrimination against women. It aims for the equality of women in all aspects of political, social, economic and cultural life. The provisions of CEDAW require governments to take measures to realize equality for women in law and in fact, as well as to confront the underlying social and political inequalities that perpetuate asymmetrical power relations based on gender[128].

Specifically, both SC resolution 1325 and CEDAW seek to ensure that women's experiences, needs and perspectives are incorporated into the political, legal and social decisions that determine whether durable peace, reconciliation and development are achieved[129].

4.3 Women's participation in peace building internationally

The Security Council has passed many resolutions demanding compliance with the law and highlighting the systematic, flagrant and widespread violations of human laws concerning protected persons in armed conflict[130]. Women Waging Peace has initiated a three-year project to address the lack of scholarship on women work as peace builders by filling gaps in research and policy literature. The project has compiled case studies on women contributions to peace in Colombia, Cambodia, Sierra Leone, El Salvador, Rwanda, and South Africa. [131]

Moreover, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) fosters strategic partnerships with regional and intergovernmental bodies and brings its operational experience into mainstreaming gender in peace support operations involving women in their design and implementation. This is in support of SC 1325 calls for women in decision making in the institutions and mechanisms involved in the resolution of conflict. It calls for integrated measures that support local women peace initiatives. CEDAW also supports such programmes by advocating for 30-33% of women participation in political process[132].

The 32 women groups representing trade unions, academia, feminists, human rights activists, and indigenous people had a great influence in the peace negotiations in Guatemala of May 1994-November 1996.The women sector played a major role in shaping the Assembly of Civil Societies (ACS), pushing to broaden the assembly to include additional sectors and they co-

128 Ibid.
129 Ibid.
130 http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions
131 http://www.womenwagingpeace.net
132 Ibid.

organized national and international consultations to determine which additional sectors needed representations[133].

As they emerge from conflict and large scale destruction, societies face considerable challenges in laying the groundwork for transformation to peace time. Return and settlement of displaced populations and the demobilization and reintegration of combatants are processes that have particular consequences for women. Women often have particular insights in the needs of families and communities during reintegration and they require recognition and support to their disarmament, demobilization and reintegration(DDR) related activities, such as care for injured, traumatized, HIV-infected or under age combatants[134].

During conflict, women often gain valuable and relevant leadership and organization skills, which can be translated into policy making roles in the post-conflict periods. Women's cooperation during conflict usually results in the proliferation of women's civil society organizations after conflict.

The Northern Ireland Women Coalition delegates applied principles of inclusion, equality, and respect for human rights when developing positions and argued that a workable solution needed to be based on values and common ground, not fixed positions. They also had an important impact on the formal negotiations. By remaining impartial, the women built trust and broke down communication barriers[135]. Women participation in armed conflict and peace building in Northern Ireland played an important role in shaping the peace agreement. They broadened talks to include topics of interest to marginalization and recognition of women rights and groups[136].

In the Sri Lanka peace negotiations of December 2002-April 2003, although women never made a formal presentation of their report to the negotiators, the Sub-Committee on Gender Issues (SGI) was an unprecedented attempt to make formal representation in peace negotiations. It was built on the earlier negotiations by women from Kosovo, Northern Ireland

[133] Luz mendez, president, advisory council, national union of Guatemalan women; and former member, URNG Delegation to the peace negotiations report.
[134] See: www.unifem.org [accessed Feb 2015].
[135] Berta Gomez, "women forging partnerships at Belfast: Networking, information exchange are order of the day."http://www.dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/vitalvoices/PARTNER.HTM [accessed Feb 2015].
[136] Shelley Anderson, in the footsteps of bertha von suttener; women peace builders today." http://www.connectingwomen.nl/mtgs/articles_of_interest/women_peace_builders.html. [accessed Feb 2015]

and Burundi where they participated in all stages although they never came up with a formal position. 137.

Finland's action plan of 2008-2011 mapped out objectives requiring women to be clearly encouraged to participate. without being subjected to discrimination. in crisis management operations and in prevention and resolution of conflict. According to the action plan. in post-conflict society, women and girls are considered active members who can influence its economic and political development. as well as take part in the planning and implementation of humanitarian assistances or post-conflict disarmament and reconstruction programme138.

In Africa, Rwanda is determined to mobilize women's efforts and to take affirmative measures whenever necessary in order to involve more women in the peace building and security reinforcement process. Moreover. Rwanda is committed to supporting women's initiative and to supporting financially appropriate technologies which are likely to facilitate women in peace and security missions139. Moreover, in the Darfur peace agreement of November 2005 to May 2006, women significantly shaped the final round of the negotiations. They participated in formal negotiations on wealth sharing. power sharing. and security arrangements. They advocated for attention to poverty eradication. economic empowerment. and human rights issues that negotiating parties previously neglected140. The African region developed a "First Ladies for Peace Initiative" in early 1997. which has included conferences on peace and humanitarian issues. These resolutions have been presented to African heads of states and government. In addition, the Organization of African Unity and the Economic Commission for Africa launched the Women's Committee on Peace and Development in 1999141.

In summary. from the international studies, organizing for peace can be a long, complex. and difficult process. Women are often engaged in peace building activities at the grassroots and community levels, reaching across ethnic and political divides to build mutual understanding and reconciliation and form shared goals for peace. Women often have particular insight into the consequences of conflict on families and communities and knowledge about steps needed

137 Schlissel. Lillian. *Women's diaries of the westward journey.* Schocken. 2011.
138 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland. 2008. National Action Plan 2008-2011. Helsinki.Finland.
139 Republic of Rwanda. National Action Plan 2009-2012. May 2010.
140 7th Round Of The Inter-Sudanese Peace Talks On The Conflict In Darfur." African Union Press Release. December 12.2005. http://www.sudanesconline.com/cpressrelease2006/dec13-46344.shtml. Also Report of the Chairperson of the Commission on the situation in Darfur (The sudan). Peace and security council. 45th meeting. January12.2006 Addis ababa. Ethiopia. African Union.http://www.africa-union.org/root/AU/AUC/Departments/PSC/45th/CP_Report_on_Darfur.pdf.
141 Ibid.

to reconstruct these societal structures. Peace negotiations are not merely about ending hostilities and disarmament; they also involve elements of planning for post-conflict reconstruction. Supported by CEDAW and UNIFEM women participation can be used to broaden. strengthen and operationalize gender equality in the context of conflict, peace building and post-conflict reconstruction. 142In several states. including the United Kingdom and the United States, women occupy high-level decision- making posts. including as secretary of state and departmental heads. posts which have important implications for conflict prevention and peace processes.

4.4 Conflict resolution from the Turkana women perspective.

Just as the women from Turkana play a significant role in conflict, these women equally play a significant role in conflict resolution. It is worthy to note that, participation of these women in conflict resolution is not very visible.

Culturally, the women do not sit under a tree where men sit while discussing matters affecting the entire community, such as search for peace. However, they are allowed to sit within a hearing distance of these negotiations and their contribution in such *barazas* is forbidden. This should not be construed to mean that they have no role to play in search for peace.

To start with, it has been established that women suffer the blunt of conflict in whatever situation one looks at. For example, in the Turkana perspective, the following impacts directly affect women, hence their need to engage in the search for peace

During the period of peace women are free to visit each other. The Turkana country is indeed wide and as such, travelling to visit a relative may take days, this is especially so considering there are practically no roads in some areas and that the visits are by foot. During conflict therefore, their movement is regulated. The researcher having worked there established that most people killed outside of cattle rustling were unarmed travellers. It is therefore hard to find normal movements outsides of the villages when there is tension. The situation is made worse by the fact that both communities target people from outside their community with the intention

142Tryggestad. Torunn L. "Trick or Treat? The UN and Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women. Peace, and Security." *Global Governance: a review of multilateralism and international organizations* 15.4 (2009): 539-557.

of the attacks being attributed to the rival communities. This is usually done with the aim of attracting the wrath of government entities on these communities.[143]

Women that are left in the villages by the raiding parties are left hoping for the return of their families. They however accept the possibility of their not returning home in cases where they are killed while raiding. It is a huge loss when a woman loses a child, husband or father due to raids. It is therefore a strong motivation for women to prevent such loss through conflict resolution.

Communities at war cause social relationships to break. This is because after a raid, the entire raiding community is held culpable. If a young man or woman is dating from the opposite community; they are equally at risk of being killed during revenge attacks.

The researcher, while posted at Nakwamoru in Turkana south, witnessed the aftermath of a ritual where a woman from the Pokot community was slain next to a river and her body used in a ceremony to appease the ancestors. The seer had decreed that for the community to be at peace, a brown Pokot girl had to be offered as a sacrifice. For these reasons, cross cultural relationships are avoided. It would, therefore, be in the interest of the women to see that peace prevails to enable such relationships exist.

Unlike her neighbours, the Turkana people are largely livestock keepers. They therefore rely on their animals to get agricultural (farm) produce from their neighbours. During conflict, women are unable to trade or access farm produce as the markets are never operational during the war.

The Turkana people engage in charcoal burning and sale of charcoal along the Lodwar-Kitale road. Charcoal burning is usually left to the women and is used to substitute money from sale of animals. Strong acacia trees are found deep in the bush. During conflict, these areas are usually very dangerous for the women and are therefore forced to abandon the exercise till the time of peace.

Among their food, the Turkana people rely on wild fruits which, as had been earlier stated, require lengthy boiling to reduce their toxicity and soften them. These fruits are relatively

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[143] Researchers observation while working in the region in 2013-2014.

inaccessible during conflict. This is because the women fetch them deep in the bush which is often a long distance from the village. When there is conflict, such fetching cannot be done because by going out they expose themselves to the enemies.

When raiders strike, they usually abduct young girls and women of child bearing age. Traditionally raiders were required to abduct beautiful girls from the villages they raided. These girls were married by the raiders and became their wives. At the present time, the abducted women are raped, maimed or killed and are left along the way. A majority do not make it back to their homes once released. The researcher witnessed several girls killed within a day after the raid and their bodies left for wild animals. These actions have led to instantaneous wide scale revenge attacks on the offending communities. This has led to the high fatalities witnessed in recent attacks. For example, on 23rd May, 2013 a young girl was kidnapped from Kases in West Pokot by Turkana raiders. During the attack, six small goats, the girl had been looking after were stolen. The girl was killed by the raiders after a day's journey and her body dumped by the roadside within five kilometers of Nakwamoru village in Turkana South. Footprints of the raiders indicated they headed towards Kakong village deep in Turkana land. The following day four women and two girls were shot dead in Nakwamoru as they went home from the river.[144]

A peace committee member speaks to a group of women about early marriage and education for girls as well as effects of war in Napak district[145]. Source Frontlines, 2013.

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[144] Observation of the researcher when he worked in the region in 2012-2013.
[145] See More: http://www.usaid.gov/news-information/frontlines/risk-resilience-and-media/calling-shots-women-mend-fault-lines-conflict.

4.5 Turkana Women in Post-Conflict Activities

Women in the region have acted as peace initiators. Bastick argues that participation of women in post-conflict security services is crucial to creating structures that are representative, trusted and legitimate and are able to meet the security needs of both men and women[146]. For some women and girls in armed groups having a gun is seen as a way of protecting themselves and acquiring greater status. However, this is frequently illusory, and many girls and women combatants continue to be abused and are forced to commit abuses themselves. [147]The ambiguous role played by women in the Karamajong pastoralist region of north eastern Uganda means that they can be advocates for peace in their communities while, at the same time, encouraging men to go out on the armed cattle rustling raids which have brought such insecurity to communities in the region.

Turkana Women Singing a Peace Song.

A song on importance of educating girls

What boys do, the girls can do too

What a boy does, a girl can do it too

[146] Bastick. Megan. *Integrating gender in post-conflict security sector reform*. Geneva: DCAF. 2008.
[147] Amnesty Kenya. "The Impact of Guns on Women's Lives". *Alden Press*. Oxford United Kingdom, 2005.

If you give her a chance, the girl can do better
If given the opportunity, she can achieve more
Please give your girls a chance to go to school
Please help her to help you us.

In Kenya some women have been noted for making exemplary acts in fostering peace in their regions. For example, Jenepher Masis, an NGO leader from Mt. Elgon, undertakes tasks, such as identifying the causes and consequences of violence, like domestic violence, sexual abuse, rape, female genital mutilation, election violence against women and property inheritance in terms of land and housing issues. She was trained in peace and leadership and her project, 'Tears of Women', was funded by the United States Agency for International Development to support women.[149]

Another example is Sarah Akuro, an assistant chief from Kainuk in Turkana South. She helps bring warring communities of Turkana and Pokot together in peace *barazas* which has helped bring down rising tensions in the region. Through her group, 'Rural Women Peace Link', she has engaged women from both communities, educating them on self-sustaining plans as an alternative to the pastoralist lifestyle that they are used to. Being a woman, she is accepted in both communities after conflict, where men would otherwise be suspected of being spies and most probably gunned down. Her group has, therefore, given her a lot of respect and recognition in the region and participates in numerous forums championing the role of women in conflict prevention through women empowerment.

Mulki Aden is another woman who has been able to mobilize youths in Turkana against retrogressive practices, such as cattle rustling. Her group, Speak Youth, has empowered youths who are in turn sent to reach out to other youth dissuading them from cattle rustling and advocating for education in the region.[146]

Nearby the Marakwet and Pokot women have also frequently initiated talks between their clans and their neighbours-Turkana by urging them to stop fighting over resources. Women,

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148 Pkalya, R., Adan. M. &Duba. S. 2003. Peace Poems and Radio Scripts. A collection of peace poems written by Poetry teachers from conflict prone northern Kenya districts and Boran Language radio scripts.
149Coalition for Peace in Africa. COPA. Stories from Women Peace Leaders in Karamoja and Somali Clusters.Women in Peace Leadership Programme. Nairobi. Noel Creative Media. 2010.

therefore, work as beacons of reason, by challenging the elders, the seers, the warriors, the administration, women groups, youth groups and church leaders to work for peace in the Turkana County.[150]

By so doing, women have managed to bring communities and families back together by sometimes accepting to get married to their former enemies. This action provides healing, through laying the foundation of long-term relationships that sometimes reduce animosity.[151] Women, therefore, have played a very important role in peace building through marriage, which has created solidarity between the two fighting communities.

Women organize solidarity networks across the Turkana Valley's ethnic groups, class and cultural chasms. These networks have brought together people from warring groups, who discuss issues that promote peace in the valley. The Tecla Lorupe Foundation is one such move that has brought together all communities that live in the KerioValley to take part in running for peace.[152]

In all the communities, women have a special role in that they wield a soft kind of power over their men as seen earlier. It is this power that they tap into in efforts to bring peace in their communities. It is often enough to bring tension to an end or the will to avenge, by simple declaration of not supporting the conflict.

For example, after the Tot massacre of 2009, where Marakwet women and children were killed by Pokot warriors, Pokot women had had enough and they refused to tie *legetio* so their men did not go on another raid. *Legetio* is used by the Turkana, Samburu and Marakwet[153].

While the above are formal methods employed by women in pastoral areas at solving conflicts, the Turkana women also had their own culturally accepted methods of conflict resolution. To a varying degree, these methods worked for them despite occurring outside the formal structures as shown below.

[150] Juma, Monica Kathina. "Unveiling Women as Pillars of Peace: Peace Building in Communities Fractured by Conflict in Kenya." *An Interim Report. New York: UNDP* (2000).
[151] Oral interview. Pauline ChepkoechTorotich. Tot. 5/1/2014.
[152] Oral interview. Komen arap Too. Kerio Central- Arror. 4/1/2009.
[153] Ibid .

The pastoral communities usually consider women as a symbol of peace. Though women were not allowed to sit with men in a peace meeting, they were allowed to sit close enough to hear what was being negotiated. After such lengthy meeting, women from both sides of the conflict would prepare a meal and serve the men as a symbol of peace. It was, therefore, inconceivable for a peace meeting to be concluded without the participants being fed by the women.[154]

It was after these peace meetings that women were also called in to bury the tools of war. In this case, two women, one from each warring community, would be required to dig a small pit, and in it she would bury what was referred to as tools of war. Bows, arrows, knives and shields would be buried. In this case, the woman would recite words to the effect that those tools would not be used on her children.

As had been discussed earlier, men could not go to raid without seeking blessings from their mothers. Among the Turkana, therefore, women could refuse their men to go to war. In the event that a man refused to heed the mother's instructions, it was believed that calamity would befall him. In case a man proceeds with going to war, the mother would look for the small branches of *edome (Cordia sinensis)* tree and proceed to form and tie it into a circle. The woman would then lie on top of the tied branch while the man went to raid; the tying of the branch into a circle symbolized the tying of the man's feet. While no mother would go to the extent of willing death upon her child, the tying of the *Edome* tree was a strong enough belief that no one would continue with his intentions on learning it had been tied.

A story is told of a man who did not heed his mother's advice. The branch of *edome* tree was tied and after a day's journey, the man fell ill that he could not proceed with the journey. On turning back, the mysterious disease was healed. He then attempted continuing with the raid but once more the illness returned. The whole raid party returned and was informed of the displeasure of the man's mother with the planned raid.[155]

Turkana women are also used in ceremonial roles. After a seer declared the coming of a raid on the community, he would indicate the particular route the raiders would take to approach. Two women, already past the child bearing age, would be nominated to go to a probable route the

154 Focused group discussion held at Nakwamoru in Turkana south on 04/06/2014.
155 El Jack. Amani. *Gender and armed conflict: Overview report.* Bridge. 2003.

raiders would use to get to the village. Once far enough, they would start a fire and once the smoke headed towards where the enemies would approach from, the women would throw in some special herbs procured by the seer. Once sure the herbs had been properly burnt, they would leave the fire on and return to the village.

On arrival, a goat would be slaughtered in honour of the women who had braved the challenge in an effort to protect the entire community. Such acts were said to stop impending attacks and as such the power of women stopping attacks was proven.

Turkana women have for a long time relied on their neighbouring community for trade. They supply animals and in return they get farm produce. This trade eventually forges interrelationships which are used to foster peace. For example, a woman would alert his friend from the other community of an impending attack. When the raiders send advance scouts, they would find the to be raided community alert. This would deter them from attacking, and thus conflict would be avoided.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The research found out that despite the notion that Turkana women were powerless in front of their men, the reverse was actually true. When women listened in on the negotiations going on, they would later, at the privacy of their homes, discuss the issues raised with their husbands. The home belongs to the woman and the first wife holds considerable power and authority over the younger wives. It is this power that women occasionally tapped into to prevent war. For example, a woman could easily convince her husband not to go for a particular raid and the husband would heed that call. In the family, it also emerged that the most favoured of the wives also wielded considerable influence over the husband. Decisions made in consultation with these women, are therefore, more or less binding on the men.

The elderly women equally wield considerable power over their sons, warnings not to go to war by someone's mother was considered a taboo that could not be ignored as it would bring calamity to the whole group. Turkana women, therefore, learnt to reverse the decisions of their men to engage in conflict, thereby averting conflict.[156]

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[156] Focused group discussion. Nakwamoru. 4/06/2014.

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CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This study was conducted in Turkana County which is located in North western part of Kenya. The county is largely dominated by the Turkana People who mostly engage in livestock keeping. They are a pastoral group whereby they move from point to point looking for water and pastures. Incidents of gun attacks are common in this area. Most of these attacks are motivated by cattle theft. This study was, therefore, limited to this area but largely borrowed from other areas around the world with similar problems so as to understand better what the researcher was looking into.

The present study set out to examine the role of women in the Turkana armed conflict, and by doing so, analyze the causes of armed conflict in Turkana County, as well as explore the role of women in resolving armed conflict. The study sought to compare the roles played by women in the international platform and regionally. At the same time, while looking at the regional perspective, emphasis was put on establishing how the Turkana people, more so women, handled conflict resolution.

The study was guided by three objectives: first was to establish the causes of conflict among different communities in Turkana District; secondly was to establish the role of women in inciting and perpetrating conflict; and finally to find out the role of women in conflict resolution and peace building.

The study employed qualitative research method which was informed by the nature of issues being tackled. Primary data was acquired through focused group discussions and guided interviews where a questionnaire was used. These interviewees included government officers who had worked there, or are still there, and local people. Point persons were used to indicate other resourceful respondents which gave the study an overview of the conflict from the local people's perspective and secondary data was obtained from library research; which included, written sources such as published and unpublished theses, scholarly journals and reports.

In carrying out the study, the following hypotheses were tested and proven- that resource scarcity is a major cause of conflict in Turkana, that women are actively engaged in armed conflict in Turkana and that women are very instrumental in peace building among the Turkana.

The study has shown that the Turkana County is subdivided into three administrative areas; namely, Turkana Central district, Turkana North district and Turkana South district. Externally, the area of Turkana borders Uganda. South Sudan and Ethiopia and is subject to unrest. insecurity, livestock raids and attacks on communities.

The study has also shown that cattle rustling/raids, night attacks and road robberies are among the main manifestation of conflicts in the district and beyond. Internally, the county neighbours Marsabit to the West and the aggressive West Pokot in the East. There are three principal fronts in the conflicts of Turkana North. These are between the Ugandan Dodoth, the Sudan Toposa and also the Merille of Ethiopia. Internally, there are many flashpoints around the Turkana area between the Pokot and Samburu, the Samburu and Turkana. the Turkana and Pokot and the Pokot and Marakwet.

The study reveals that conflict and relations in the Kerio Valley are as old as the history of settlement in the region. During the pre-colonial period, the Pokot-Marakwet relationships can be described as being partly friendly and partly hostile. At this period, there was free movement of people and livestock from both sides of the Kerio River without any restrictions.

Moreover, the coming of the British colonial rule introduced administrative units, which separated the communities by creating boundaries and 'Native Districts'. Communities were thereafter restricted in their movement. The colonial administration intended to partition the territories for easy administration and to divide the Africans in order to weaken their resistance. In this respect, the Pokot were confined in Baringo and West Pokot districts, while the Marakwet were confined in Elgeyo-Marakwet district, while the Turkana were subdivided into three districts as mentioned earlier.

Traditionally, various factors caused armed conflict. These ranged from social, political, economic and environmental factors. Major causes of conflict among the pastoralists include, but are not limited, to intensified cattle rustling, proliferation of illicit arms and competition over control and access to natural resources, such as pasture, water and land issues. However,

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competition for resources takes a larger proportion of about 73%[157]. Thus the study has confirmed that scarce resources are a major contributor of armed conflict in the region.

The study also illustrates that much of the available literature has focused on political causes of violence, with women seen as being less involved than men. It also showed that in post-conflict peace building, women are also marginalized. Traditions that are strongly embedded in certain communities, such as warrior-ship and cattle rustling are unique, in that, they are considered culturally acceptable and all communities that engage in rustling have a justification for it. Furthermore, cattle rustling may also occur when there is general peace in which women play their critical role as peace-makers. However, the study found out that various factors forced women to play active roles in the conflict. Active roles included engaging in activities, which directly supported the conflict. These included buying weapons for their sons, smuggling of the weapons across the international borders and trading ammunition in exchange of their products, such as alcohol.

Women were also found to play critical roles that can be argued to be the origin of the conflict. The study found out that in the home setting the women were the rallying call for their men to go out and bring wealth from their neighbours. They achieved this by nagging their husbands and encouraging them to go to steal.

Women also took part in passive roles, thus indirectly supporting the conflict. These roles included cooking for the warriors, spying, ridiculing those who did not go to raid and praising the successful warriors. In light of this, women can no longer be considered as victims only; they should be understood to be part of the propagation of the unending conflict in the North Rift Region. The roles taken up by women in Turkana and neighbouring environment armed conflict are a testimony that women are not just victims, but sometimes active participants in the conflict.

Indeed, the roles played by women proved the liberal feminists right that the roles of women in society were sometimes similar to those of men. Women began taking part in atrocities, thereby intensifying the negative impact of conflict on their lives and those of the entire community. The study found out that traditionally women were never targeted to be killed during the raids. They were in some cases kidnapped and married by the raiding community,

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157 Ibid.

and this may have been the reason why they may have accepted the tradition of raiding in the first instance. But the current incidents of raiding were found to be more destructive in terms of human life, with raiders targeting children and women for rape and murder.

The study also found that, for some women and girls in armed groups, having a gun is seen as a way of protecting themselves and acquiring greater status. However, this is frequently illusory. The ambiguous role played by women in the Karamojong pastoralists region of north eastern Uganda means that they can be advocates for peace in their communities while, at the same time, encouraging men to go out on the armed cattle rustling raids which have brought such insecurity to communities in the region.

The study showed that women participation in armed conflict traditionally was invisible at best. This was not indicative of their absence. They were known to play very critical roles. Despite the fact that their participation in peace negotiations was seen as informal, in their absence, the very negotiations could not take place. While they stood to lose more significantly in the event of a raid, these women were said to wield considerable influence on their men and as such could control the very direction of a peace meeting. It is the same influence on their men that could rally the very men to go to war.

The study highlights some examples of women in Kenya fostering peace in their regions. For example, Jenepher Masis an NGO leader from Mt. Elgon, has identified the consequences of violence to be; domestic violence, sexual abuse, rape, female genital mutilation, election violence against women and property inheritance in terms of land and housing issues. Although this is the case, the participation of Turkana women in conflict resolution, despite the many NGO's in the region was found to be minimal and lacking proper support. Available avenues of participation were largely informal groups that have had varying success in preventing the conflict. Despite the challenges, however, the study found out that women groups were more acceptable vehicles of peace mechanisms as they are able to cross ethnic borders that would otherwise be inaccessible to male champions of peace.

In carrying out the study the researcher encountered several problems. Key among them was the unwillingness of the community under study through the respond to. answer issues related to their part in conflict. The researcher realized that most respondents felt like it was a betrayal to their community. The researcher had to take a lot of time explaining the purpose of the

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interview satisfactorily enough for the participants to agree to be interviewed. Language barrier was a great handicap especially regarding translations by the interpreters who misguided the respondents. It required the researcher to rephrase some questions to get the interviews back on the track.

The Turkana terrain was equally unforgiving with very high temperatures during the day and inaccessible by road when it rained. This delayed the conclusion of data collection. In conclusion, the researcher underestimated the financial implication attached to the project. This was occasioned by the assumption that accommodation would be readily available. In the actual sense, one has to travel long distances to get accommodation.

5.1 Recommendations

While Turkana women are seen to be participating in conflict resolution through their own initiatives such as the Tecla Lorupe Foundation, there is need to implement the legal frameworks earlier discussed in chapter three including UNSCR 1325 resolution, which require women participation in conflict resolution in a formal manner.

The efforts made by women already need to be beefed up through capacity development and funding to give it a wider scope and mandate in the cattle prone region. In the same light, it should be noted that most women in these programmes lack formal education in conflict resolution. Therefore, it is important that they be rewarded and given formal training on peace building and mobilization.

Different mechanisms have already been used to introduce women in peace building. Policy formulations are one of the key initiatives that have been applied in Turkana by NGOs, such as World Vision. Using policies, to establish an advisory group or appoint a dedicated gender adviser in the office of the facilitator or mediator to enhance attention to the different needs and priorities of men and women should also be emphasized.

As an incentive, women should be offered compulsory membership in all conflict resolution forums. This would empower them to come out more, while at the same time bringing to the fore their traditional roles of nurturing and mediation[158].

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[158] Ibid.

Funding, space, and facilitation to women from the various negotiating teams to meet separately from the broader group to determine and strategize shared priorities should be provided. Funding child care to help the women selected to participate in negotiations and attend all negotiation sessions should be provided. This should include physical protection of women delegates throughout negotiations[159].

Turkana women groups need to be empowered, encouraged and helped create opportunities for them and other civil society organizations to facilitate dialogue with negotiators and decision makers. Technical support to women's organization and women peace activists should be availed to enable them to identify and take advantages of opportunities to access peace talks and those involved in talks[160].

Women from marginalized regions should be provided with platforms for coming up with ideas to be presented in peace negotiations. This will help in getting ideas from the ground where these conflicts are actually organized in addition to having direct responses from the communities that they represent[161].

Turkana has its cultural beliefs and values strongly embedded. Curses are believed to be strong tools used by women to ensure that their children obey their orders. In all the war-torn areas in the rift valley, this was one of the tools women used to stop their children going to fight[162], in this regard the women should be sensitized on the power they wield in curtailing these conflicts.

Solidarity visits should be encouraged through funding them. Different women groups in all areas affected by ethnic conflict in Molo area of Rift Valley conducted solidarity visits during and after the land clashes of 1992. A rural woman peace link was formed in 1992 to create a space for women to participate in peace building. They engaged in reconciling the warring communities using traditional peacemaking methods and exchange programmes[163].This could

159 Oral interview L. Ekai. 4/6/2014. Turkana South.
160 Oral interview, Lenal K. 4/6/2014. Turkana South.
161 The Institute for Inclusive Security. *Bringing women into peace negotiations, strategies for policy makers.* No.2. Oct. 2009 :7.
162 Oral interview. J Lorogiio. 4/6/2014. Nakwamoru.
163 Oral interview J Lenalaparsipai. 4/6/2014. Turkana South

also be highly effective in the North Rift region, where women visit victims of raids to weep with them.

Exchange programmes should be created so that Turkana women are able to see how other communities, such as the Marakwet, managed to live once they stopped over-dependence on cattle for their livelihood. This will give them an alternative view to the way of life they hold dear.

Peace exhibitions where women bring together their farm produce as well as animal produce to compete amongst themselves and offer an arena for sharing ideas and passing information, including songs and dance celebrating peace, should be introduced in Turkana County. In such events, civil societies should take advantage of the events to educate the women on the importance of education for the well-being of the society as well as shunning conflict. In such forums, new ideas would be easier to introduce. Such forums have proved very useful among the Samburu who hold cultural festivals in Isiolo. They annually invite their neighbours where they learn from one another culminating in a beauty pageant celebrating their unique beauty and generally fostering a sense of togetherness.

While the above methods of conflict resolution could work, it would also be important for the government to change its approach towards conflict in the region. The idea of responding to the conflict through military action on the whole community has clearly not worked. When the government brutalizes the communities en-masse, they only alienate particular communities. Instead the government should involve the local communities in coming up with solutions that address the exact origin of those conflicts.

In conclusion, the study on the role of women in the Turkana armed conflict represents an attempt at understanding the conflict from an all-round perspective. The Kalenjin and Turkana people have a long standing history as a people who never caused harm to women and children. But this has been destroyed by the recurrent and often protracted conflicts occasioned by resource and political instigation.

The hitherto culture of cattle raids that had minimal to nil loss of human life has been replaced by endless loss of human life due to the use of sophisticated weaponry and commercialization

of the raids. More studies, therefore, need to be done to establish the effects of these attacks on the society as a whole and the social changes they have brought about.

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QUASTIONAIRE

Please fill the questionnaire diligently, do not write your name. The information will be treated with confidentiality. Please tick or write your responses in the space provided.

Section A: Demographics

1. Age of respondent
   a. 5-20 years   [   ]
   b. 21-30 years   [   ]
   c. 31-40 years   [   ]
   d. 41-50 years   [   ]

2. Marital status.
   a. Married   [   ]
   b. Divorced   [   ]
   c. Separated   [   ]
   d. Widowed   [   ]
   e. Single   [   ]

3. Highest level of education.
   a. Primary   [   ]
   b. Secondary   [   ]
   c. Diploma   [   ]
   d. Degree   [   ]
   e. Others (specify)..

4. Which is your profession?
   a. ......
   b. ......

Section B.

5. Which regions of Turkuna do you come from?

   ....

   ....

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6. How long have you lived in this region?

   a. <5 years   [   ]
   b. 6-10 years   [   ]
   c. 11-15 years   [   ]
   d. 16-30 years   [   ]
   e. >30 years   [   ]

7. Were you in this region from the year 2005 and 2010

   a. Yes   [   ]
   b. No   [   ]

8. If yes, did you ever experience any conflict in this region?

   a. Yes   [   ]
   b. No   [   ]

9. If yes, in that conflict which roles did women play to fueling conflict?

   a. ....
   b. ....
   c. ....
   d. ....

10. If you are a woman, which role did you play during the clash?

   1................
   2................
   3.................

11. What were the causes of conflict?

   a. ....
   b. ....
   c. ....
   d. ....

12. Name any other causes of conflict that can lead to clashes in this region

   a. ....
   b. ....
   c. ....

Section C

13. Do you believe women had a role in inciting and perpetrating conflict in 2005-2010?

    a. Strongly agree   [   ]

    b. Agree   [   ]

    c. Neutral   [   ]

    d. Disagree   [   ]

    e. Strongly disagree   [   ]

14. What role did you see women do during that time?

    a. ....

    b. ....

15. Do you know any women responsible in peace building and conflict resolution?

    a. Yes

    b. No

16. If yes, how do they do it?

    a. ....

    b. ....

    c. ....

17. Should women be encouraged in conflict resolution and peace building in your area?

    a. Strongly agree   [   ]

    b. Agree   [   ]

    c. Neutral   [   ]

    d. Disagree   [   ]

    e. Strongly disagree   [   ]

18. If Yes, which roles should they play?

19. Which other ways can women be used in peace building and conflict resolution?

20. What is the role of government in partnering with women in Peace building and conflict resolution?

Interview guide for Key Stakehoders/ Police/ NGO rep/ FBO rep, etc

1. Do you come from this region? ....
2. How long have you worked here? ....
3. Which institution do you work with? ....
4. Were you here between the years 2005-2010? ....
5. What do you think is the cause of conflict in this region? .....
6. What do you think is the role of women in perpetrating and inciting conflict? ....
7. How do they do it? ....
8. Do you believe there are any roles of women in peace building and conflict resolution? ...
9. How do they actively participate in peace building and conflict resolution...?
10. Does the other stakeholders support women, and how do they...?
11. Would you recommend any support of women in peace building?